Daily Report

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CSSR's Johanes Addresses Vienna CSCE Meeting

AU2001182689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 19 Jan 89 p 6

[CTK Vienna dispatch: "Czechoslovak Minister of Foreign Affairs' Speech in Vienna"]

[Text] Vienna—Jaromir Johanes, CSSR minister of foreign affairs and leader of the CSSR delegation, addressed the closing session of the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting on Wednesday [18 January].

By way of introduction, he conveyed thanks to the Austrian hosts for the very good conditions they established for the entire Vienna follow-up meeting and for its closing session. He went on to say:

On behalf of the Czechoslovak Government I want to welcome the successful conclusion of the meeting and the adoption of the final document, which is the outcome of positive will, realism, and new approaches to the problems of the present-day world. We appreciate the joint efforts made in drawing up the final document and, in particular, the constructive role of the neutral and nonaligned countries.

The document is proof of the viability and strength of the CSCE process. It further develops the Helsinki Final Act and creates prerequisites for all-European cooperation to be upgraded to a new, qualitatively higher level. It is not only an expression of the improving international atmosphere but, at the same time, it is also a contribution to the enhancement of positive tendencies in world developments.

Our country and all our people welcome and actively support the improvement in East-West and Soviet-American relations. The lessening of tension expands the scope for practical solutions to problems, for cooperation. The implementation of the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, including the withdrawal and liquidation of missiles sited on Czechoslovak territory, has launched the process of actual disarmament. In the sphere of chemical weapons, too, a promising step was recently taken in Paris toward an early conclusion of a convention on their prohibition and liquidation. Progress has also been made in the search for ways to settle regional conflicts.

All this bears out that the influence of new political thinking, which proceeds from the realities of the nuclear age, from the priority of universal human values, and from the need to seek a balance of interests, is increasingly gaining ground in international relations.

The Need for New Approaches

However, it is necessary to intensify joint efforts to overcome some lingering stereotypes of old thinking and to ensure the irreversibility of positive developments. This is why we highly assess the fact that in the adopted document the participating states express their resolve to develop the present favorable changes in international relations and to reinforce the guarantees of peace and security.

The present situation makes it possible, and necessary, to fully exploit the wide-ranging potentials hidden in the Helsinki process and to undertake energetic efforts so that the comprehensive development of this process may further enrich the humanistic traditions of our continent; so that it may strengthen and promote the principles of all-European cooperation; ensure respect for the inalienable right of every nation to freely choose and develop its system; and contribute to the building of a non-nuclear and non-violent world, to the creation of comprehensive security by political means, and to the assertion of the primacy of international law in interstate relations.

It is precisely such approaches that need to be applied in Europe at the turn of the second and third milleniums as the trend toward the integration and interdependence of contemporary world makes itself more noticeably felt and as the internationalization of all spheres of international life increasingly gathers momentum. The need is becoming inevitable to unite the spiritual wealth, forces, and resources of all participants in the all-European process in tackling the problems of the time. Our aim must be a common European home, in the foundations of which will be deposited all the positive experiences gained on the road that was mapped out in Helsinki. In building it, the processes of democratization, demilitarization, and humanization of international relations will have to be developed. The point is to make the peoples of the European countries feel the efforts being made in this regard as soon as possible in their everyday lives. Precisely this should be the aim of the CSCE follow-up events upon which we have agreed in Vienna.

The peaceful restructuring of international relations requires realistic and bold approaches, Minister Johanes went on to say. The Soviet Union's innovative foreign policy is a source of inspiration in this regard. This is graphically demonstrated by the wide-ranging response aroused by the comprehensive program of strengthening political dialogue and solving urgent problems of the present time declared by the highest Soviet representative, Mikhail Gorbachev, in the United Nations. The unilateral measures of the Soviet Union to reduce armed forces and weaponry, which significantly reinforce mutual trust and create a favorable situation for progress in the sphere of conventional disarmament in Europe, have rightly gained high appreciation. The interests of security on our continent make it imperative that these steps be followed.

Czechoslovakia's Active Contribution

Czechoslovakia's active contribution to the realization of the idea of the common European home is the proposal to establish a zone of confidence, cooperation,

and goodneighborly relations along the line of contact between Warsaw Pact and NATO states, put forward by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. We are pleased that this proposal is being received with interest, while its comprehensive character is appreciated at the same time. This creates the necessary scope for constructive dialogue. Our proposal organically fits into the CSCE framework. We regard it as one of the instruments for a creative implementation of the conclusions, at which we have jointly arrived in developing this process. The joint proposals of the CSSR and the GDR to create a nuclear-free corridor and a zone free of chemical weapons in central Europe also remain fully relevant.

The meeting we are just concluding has opened the path toward a new quality of military detente on the all-European scale. It has created undeniable prerequisites for the further reinforcement of mutual trust and stability and for lessening the danger of a military confrontation breaking out.

The talks on conventional armed forces in Europe on the basis of the approved mandate will soon become a major practical test of the political will to achieve genuine progress in this direction. It is necessary to consistently see to it at the new forum that the phenomena of stagnation, which used to divert previous disarmament talks into blind alleys, are not repeated.

Together with our allies in the Warsaw Pact we believe that it would be expedient to begin with the removal of asymmetries, continue with substantial cuts in armed forces, and eventually achieve a situation in which the military potentials of both alliances would assume an exclusively defensive character and the possibility of a sudden attack would be ruled out. All this would have a far-reaching impact on the enhancement of stability and security in Europe, provided, of course, that all steps in this direction will be taken under strict supervision, that the balance of forces will not be disrupted, or the security of any country endangered.

We trust that full use of the new possibilities will be made also at the further talks of the 35 participating states on confidence-building measures and security in Europe. We advocate the further development of the measures agreed upon in Stockholm, with the application of which we have had good experience, and, at the same time, we also advocate the adoption of new significant steps.

Economic, scientific-technical, and ecological cooperation is an ever more topical part of the all-European efforts, one that calls for the concentrated attention and specific deeds by all of us. Although interest in these issues has markedly increased of late, the results achieved thus far do not match the existing needs and trail behind progress in other areas.

At the same time, it is quite evident that the groundwork for economic cooperation has already been laid. Economic relations among European states have a tradition. Today, however, more progressive forms and methods of this cooperation are needed. As far as Czechoslovakia is concerned, new possibilities are being created by the restructuring of our economy, which is aimed, among other things, at the country's more effective involvement in the international division of labor. We regard the establishment of relations between CEMA and the EC, which was followed also by the signing of an agreement between Czechoslovakia and the EC, as the result of new approaches toward European cooperation.

We are of the opinion that it is necessary to further intensify our cooperation in this sphere and to overcome the barriers and restrictions that are making it so complicated. We welcome the fact that, despite all the complications, it has been possible to reach a decision on convening the economic conference; it will be like an opening night within the framework of the Helsinki process.

We are gratified to note that the Vienna meeting is providing significant incentives for environment protection and that these problems will be the subject of the all-European negotiations in Sofia.

Our topical contribution in this context was the proposal voiced by CSSR Premier Ladislav Adamec, that is, to convene a meeting of the heads of governments of the neighboring states on ecological cooperation issues. We expect the resuits of this meeting to open the path toward a more intensive collaboration in this sphere.

Adopted Commitments Apply to Everybody

We are of the opinion that cooperation in the area of human rights and in the humanitarian sphere must help intensify mutual understanding and trust. The adoption of the Vienna document is opening new possibilities in this respect. We also expect the humanitarian conference to contribute to this. We consider it important that, after Paris and Copenhagen, the third stage will be held in Moscow.

The achievement of specific results in this sphere presumes that political, civic, economic, social, and cultural rights will be consistently implemented, in their entire complex. We hope that the mechanism for collaboration, agreed on here in Vienna, will lead to a constructive dialogue and to the desirable development of human dimensions in the all-European process.

The main value of our endeavors is man—the care for his inalienable rights, understood in the broadest possible context, in their unity, and the creation of conditions for his all-around development. This is also the purpose of the current restructuring and democratization of life in our socialist society. The Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation is certain to vigorously contribute to the further development of, and provision for, human rights on a national and an international scale.

We attribute an important role to the expansion of contacts between the people, on both an individual and a collective basis, and to more intensive contacts in culture, education, and science. The exchange of information must also serve to consolidate the ideas of peace, to strengthen security, trust, and cooperation, and to further enrich mutual knowledge.

The commitments following from the Helsinki process apply to all the participating states in the East and the West. That is why those who are pointing at certain other countries in this hall, and also at Czechoslovakia, should first look at themselves. Moreover, I would like to stress that actions representing a violation of the legal code and a breach of peace cannot be tolerated by any government. This is also how the Czechoslovak authorities proceed. As in other countries, in our country, too, the laws apply to everybody.

The CSSR has always belonged to those countries that are striving to consistently implement and creatively develop the Helsinki process. The expansion of a comprehensive dialogue and of mutual relations with states participating in the CSCE is one of the basic directions of our foreign policy.

We are convinced that the final document represents a striking landmark in the development of broad cooperation on our continent. We are striving for a Europe in which nations would live in an atmosphere of mutual understanding and trust. We trust that the implementation of the conclusions adopted at the Vienna meeting will bring us striking progress on the road of consolidating peace, security, and detente not only in Europe, but throughout the world. Czechoslovakia is prepared to turn these conclusions into reality, by creative collaboration with other participating states.

Tirana Balkan Talks Continue; Delegates Confer

AU1901202889 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Today is the 2d day of the meeting in Tirana of the top representatives of the ministries of foreign affairs of the Balkan countries.

The plenary session is being held behind closed doors. The drafting group of experts from the Balkan countries has started work on preparing the protocol on the results of the meeting in the Albanian capital.

Deputy Foreign Minister Ivan Ganev, leader of the Bulgarian delegation, was received today by Manush Myftiu, deputy chairman of the Albanian Council of Ministers. He told the special team from Bulgarian Television and Radio that he assessed positively the development of Bulgarian-Albanian relations and voiced the hope that, on the basis of the traditional friendship and respect between the two peoples, they would continue to develop in the mutual interest, and to the benefit of understanding and cooperation in the Balkan peninsula.

Romanian Proposals

AU2001202989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1953 GMT 20 Jan 89

["Romanian Proposals in Tirana"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Tirana, AGERPRES, 20/01/1989—At the meeting of the deputy foreign ministers of Balkan countries, concluded in Tirana on January 20, the Romanian delegation promoted the consistent stand of Romania, of President Nicolae Ceausescu on the broad development on multiple planes of the relations with all Balkan states, the need to transform the Balkans into a zone of peace, collaboration and good neighbourliness, free of nuclear and chemical weapons—considered in close connection—without foreign military bases and troops. Reference was made to the fact that, to attain those targets, a special role in expanding the relations among the states in that region will play the calling up of a summit conference of the Balkan states, which should confer new dimensions to the strengthening of confidence and cooperation in that area.

The protocol adopted by consensus at the conclusion of the proceedings mentions to that end that the participants had examined the proposals on the organization in Bucharest of a meeting of the heads of states or governments in the Balkan countries, stressing the importance of creating the conditions for its achievement. At the same time, reference is made to the attention paid to the Romanian proposal regarding the creation of a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons in the Balkans, and recommendation is made that that objective remain a major concern of the inter-Balkan cooperation.

The participants made a consensus for Romania to organize a series of important actions in 1989, among which: the meeting at level of ministers of international economic cooperation devoted to the cooperation in industrial production and the transfer of technology; the meeting of experts on the measures to build confidence and increase security in the Balkans; the special meeting for the promotion of the economic and commercial cooperation among the Balkan countries.

On his presence in Tirana, Constantin Oprea, deputy minister of foreign affairs, was received by Manush Myftiu, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. Reference was made to the traditional friendly relations between the Romanian and the Albanian peoples, to the mutual wish to develop and deepen the collaboration between Romania and Albania in the political, economic, cultural, technical-scientific and in other domains of mutual interest.

Final Session Held

AU2001154689 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1430 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] The meeting of the Balkan deputy ministers of foreign affairs, which began on 18 January, concluded today in Tirana. During the last session, the participants discussed the recommendations made by a working group and approved a protocol on the meeting. The protocol lists a number of activities in various fields, which will be carried out by the Balkan countries in 1989.

The participants at the meeting expressed their approval for the proposal that the next meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries be held in Tirana in 1990. Before that, in the fall of the current year, a meeting of high officials from the foreign ministries concerned will be held in Athens.

The meeting was declared closed by the representative of the host country, who also presided over the meeting, Muhamet Kapllani, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. He pointed out with pleasure that the meeting achieved its aims and reviewed the positive balance-sheet of activities carried out in the framework of Balkan cooperation. He stressed the considerable importance of the fact that this cooperation is becoming a trend in the direction of strengthening understanding and trust, which is a factor of rapprochement between the peoples of our peninsula. The spirit that characterized our meeting leaves no doubt that the inter-Balkan activities envisaged in various fields will be implemented.

Muhamet Kapllani also stressed that, during the meeting, all countries expressed their belief in the continuation of the cooperation process. In this context, it is important to note that the meeting declared itself unanimous in accepting the proposal that the second meeting

of the foreign ministers concerned be held in 1990. This will certainly further promote the political dialogue that has began and will define the basic orientations for cooperation in the next 2 years.

Conscious of the importance of the task entrusted it, concluded Muhamet Kapllani, the Albanian Government will do everything in its power to make certain that the coming meeting of the foreign ministers in Tirana will provide a new impetus to cooperation in our region and make a real contribution to improving the political climate and promoting the process of understanding, trust, and cooperation in the Balkans.

The leaders of the various delegations then thanked Muhamet Kapllani for the hospitality accorded to them, for the excellent organization of the meeting, and the constructive spirit that permeated it, adding that this would promote the atmosphere of cooperation and understanding in the Balkans.

The meeting of the deputy foreign ministers of the Balkan countries, which began on 18 January, concluded its proceedings.

Further on Meeting's Conclusion

AU2101143989 Sofia BTA in English 1300 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Text] Tirana, 21 January (special BTA correspondent)—The meeting of top level representatives of the Balkan states' ministries of foreign affairs ended here yesterday with the signing of a protocol.

The top level representatives reviewed and evaluated the fulfillment of the measures and initiatives on Balkan multilateral cooperation in 1988 and discussed new ideas and possibilities for its further expansion.

In the year which has passed constructive efforts were made by all countries to seek and specify the spheres of mutual interest and concrete actions were undertaken in this direction.

They hailed the results of the Balkan states' ministers of transport meeting in Belgrade.

The top-level representatives assessed the preparatory work done on December 13-14, 1988, in Ankara in relation with the meeting of the ministers of foreign trade or economic relations. They recommended that the meeting of those ministers would be held on 15-17 February, 1989, in Ankara.

The participants in the meeting evaluated the results which were reached at the meeting of government experts for developing a draft convention on preservation of the environment in the Balkan states, held in Pravets, Bulgaria. It was recommended that the group editing the draft convention would meet in Marmara, Turkey, in February, 1989.

The top-level representatives of the foreign affairs ministries backed the usefulness of the setting up of a research institute on Balkan economic cooperation in Athens.

They assessed the results reached at the 21st Conference of Tourism of the Balkan States, held in Bulgaria.

They also stressed the positive contribution of non-governmental initiatives in various spheres.

The meeting of top-level representatives of the foreign affairs ministries stressed the willingness and readiness of the Balkan states to develop and strengthen, on the basis of full equity and mutual respect, the positive contribution of the all-Balkan cooperation to the advantage of understanding, good neighbourliness and confidence in this region, as well as of peace and security in the Balkans and in Europe as a whole.

It was recommended that the next meeting of the Balkan states' foreign affairs ministers would be held in Tirana in October, 1990.

The next meeting of top-level representatives of the foreign affairs ministries would take place in Greece in the fall of this year.

The sides considered the proposal to convene a meeting of the heads of states and governments of the Balkan countries in Bucharest and stressed the significance to provide conditions for its organization.

The top-level representatives recommended to activate contacts between their countries' parliaments.

Attention was paid to the proposal to turn the Balkans into a zone free of nuclear and chemical weapons. It was recommended that this proposal would continue to be a subject of discussion.

The top-level representatives agreed upon the time and place for:

—The meeting of ministers on issues of industrial cooperation and technologies transfer, to be held in Romania at the end of May or the beginning of June, 1989.

—The meeting of ministers of energy, to be held in the first half of 1990 in Tirana.

—The meeting of experts of the Balkan states for discussion of the measures for strengthening of confidence and security between the Balkan states to be held in Bucharest in the second quarter of 1989.

—The special meeting on issues for expansion and deepening of economic and trade cooperation between the Balkan states, to be held in the second half of 1989 in Bucharest.

—The meeting of experts in the sphere of health care, to be held in the fall of 1989 in Greece.

The top-level representatives recommended that a meeting would take place of experts on the issues of culture, humanitarian cooperation and mass media in Sofia, in the second half of September, 1989 and in Ankara, possibly at the end of the year. Proceeding from the nature of these meetings, the need was stressed that they would be open to the public and the mass media.

—The meeting of experts for considering cooperation in the sphere of fighting of terrorism and illegal trade with weapons and drugs, to be held in Belgrade, preferably in June, 1989.

—The meeting of representatives of the ministries of agriculture, to be held in the first half of 1990 in Athens.

—The meeting of the committees for Balkan understanding and cooperation and other similar non-governmental organizations, to be held in October, 1989, in Tirana.

The meeting of the top-level representatives of the foreign affairs ministries was held in a constructive spirit of understanding.

What will Bulgaria do for the further development of relations on the peninsula? Mr Ivan Ganev, deputy foreign affairs minister, answered this question by generalizing the results of the meeting: "Our country is preparing to take part in all of the all-Balkan initiatives, but we have also a special role being hosts of some of them. An extremely important decision was adopted: to hold in Sofia the meeting of experts on the issues of culture, humanitarian cooperation and the mass media, to which we render particular significance in view of the improvement of the climate for understanding and cooperation in the region. [no closing quotes as received]

Albania's Kapllani News Briefing

AU2001173989 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1430 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Report on news conference by Muhamet Kapllani, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, at the conclusion of the meeting of the Balkan deputy foreign ministers in Tirana on 20 January]

[Text] In his capacity as chairman of the meeting of the Balkan deputy ministers of foreign affairs, Muhamet Kapllani, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, gave a statement to the Albanian and foreign media representatives.

We believe, he stated, that the Tirana meeting of high officials of the ministries of foreign affairs of the Balkan countries, was concluded successfully and that it achieved its aims and intentions. In this sense, the meeting was an important component part of the process that has began in our region and marked a further advance in the direction of understanding and cooperation. All participating delegations worked with a sense of responsibility and in a constructive spirit, in order to find real new possibilities for cooperation to the benefit of all the Balkan peoples. This spirit and these results are reflected in the Protocol of the meeting, which includes recommendations for various activities on a regional scale, whose implementation will undoubtedly further promote this cooperation.

I would like to stress that the program of activities envisaged in 1989 includes some important meetings, such as the meeting of the ministers of economy and foreign trade to be held in Turkey; the meeting pertaining to industrial cooperation and technology transfer, which will be held in Romania; the meetings of the committees for Balkan understanding and cooperation, and of some other organizations, which will be held in Tirana; the meetings to be held in Romania by Balkan experts on culture, humanitarian questions, and the media, in order to exchange opinions on the measures that can be adopted to strengthen understanding and cooperation in the Balkans. The 1989 program also includes cooperation activities in the fields of agriculture, health, and so forth.

One of the major recommendations made on the political plane is undoubtedly the proposal for a meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan countries, to be held in 1990 in the Albanian capital, Tirana. We believe that this meeting will mark a step of particular importance on the road of strengthening cooperation and understanding in the Balkans. Considerable potential opportunities exist for the intensification of relations between the Balkan countries. The Albanian Government is of the opinion that, given the political good will, the misunderstandings and tensions which act as a brake on understanding and the fulfillment of common interests of the Balkan peoples can be overcome. The experience gained since the conference of foreign ministers in Belgrade shows that the fundamental interests of the peoples and countries of our region can lead to the strengthening of cooperation, as a realistic and fruitful alternative, to the benefit of peace and stability.

In conclusion, Muhamet Kapllani, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, thanked the media representatives for their efforts in informing their own and international public opinion about the proceedings of this meeting.

Talks With Albania's Myftiu

AU2001202389 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Manush Myftiu, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, today received separately Tansug Bleda, deputy under secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the

Republic of Turkey; Konstandinos Yeoryiou, secretary general of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Greek Republic; and Constantin Oancea, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Comrade Manush Myftiu expressed the sentiments of friendship and respect held by the Albanian people for the Balkan peoples, as well as our country's sincere desire to contribute to the expansion of cooperation between the countries of our peninsula. He congratulated them on the successful conclusion of the proceedings of the meeting of the deputy foreign ministers of the Balkan countries, as well as on the contribution made at this meeting by all participating delegations. He also mentioned the importance of bilateral relations in promoting good-neighborliness and for peace and security in the Balkans, and beyond.

Opinions were exchanged about the development of relations between the respective countries and the common desire was expressed for the further development of these relations in the fields of trade, industry, transportation, cultural exchanges, and so forth. The importance of the expansion of multilateral cooperation was also stressed during the talks, as well as the fact that the recent meeting, together with others that will follow it, will further promote Balkan relations in the interest of the stability and well-being of the peoples of our peninsula.

The meetings were also attended by Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and the respective ambassadors extraordinary and plenipotentiary in Tirana.

Albanian Minister's Dinner

AU2101144089 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2100 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, hosted a dinner in honor of the delegations that took part in the meeting of the Balkan deputy foreign ministers, which conducted its proceedings in Tirana on 18-20 January.

In addition to the members of the delegations, the reception was also attended by Manush Myftiu, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Vitori Curri, deputy chairman of the Presidency of the People's Assembly; Farudin Hoxha, minister under the Presidency of the Council of Ministers; Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade; Alfred Uci, chairman of the Albanian Committee for Culture and the Arts; Sofokli Lazri, director of the International Relations Study Institute; Sokrat Plaka and Muhamet Kapllani, deputy ministers of foreign affairs; Prof Dhimiter Shuteriqi, chairman of the Albanian Committee for Balkan Understanding and Cooperation; Isak Shehu, chairman of the Durres District People's Council Executive Committee, and other guests.

The dinner proceeded in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Daily Comments on SFRY's 'Warmongering Plans'
AU2401113789 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 24 Jan 89

["Belgrade's Provocations and the Aggressive Aims"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, January 24 (ATA)— Under the above title the newspaper ZERI I POPULLIT of January 24 carries an article by the editorial board, which says:

These days, as the meeting of the senior officials of the Ministries of the Foreign Affairs of the Balkan countries was going on in Tirana and the will for the creation of a warmer atmosphere in our peninsula was being expressed, in Yugoslavia, in the meetings and press, the attacks and the writings against Albania and Albanians were intensified. Scandalous books are published, as "The Secrets of the Albanian Mafia", filled with the most monstrous slanders, where Albania is made responsible even for smuggling and espionage, drugs, and ordinary crimes in Yugoslavia, for everything.

Perhaps, such boulevard slanders and writings, would not deserve even the slightest attention. But they assume importance, because they expose the aims of certain circles in Yugoslavia against the PSR of Albania and the Albanians of Kosovo, such aims which are made evident even by the Ljubljana magazine MLADINA since October 1988. Before we reproduce the text of the Slovenian magazine, let's take one by one the links of the chain.

Some time ago, a meeting of the Foreign Commission of Serbia's Assembly was held in Belgrade, where even the chairman of this assembly, General Gracanin spoke. In the centre of the debate was the issue how to better and intensively elaborate the opinion against the PSR of Albania, how to broadly argue Serbia's right to establish its rule and hegemony over Kosovo in front of the world. It was even agreed upon to publish a "white book" on these sinister aims.

After this meeting, there is not a single day without any writings or news items tendentiously worked out to humiliate the Albanians of Kosovo and of other regions and slander against Socialist Albania.

There is a fact which cannot but draw our attention While the persons in charge of the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs try to underestimate the anti-Albanian actions, to present them as a deed of some unbalanced individuals, some unrestrained journalists, nobody in Yugoslavia publicly outdistances himself from the dangerous provocations directed against a neighbouring country, as the PSR of Albania.

When the Serbs' demonstrations took place, in different cities of Yugoslavia as in Kragujevac, in Belgrade, etc., many aggressive slogans against Albanians were launched. They were front-paged evidently even by the Belgrade press. Thus, it was called upon: "We want arms," "Let us kill the Albanians," even "Go ahead, Slobodan, if necessary to Tirana." Serbia's leader, Milosevic, declared: "We will win the battle for Kosovo," whereas the defence secretary, Kadijevic, said "The main task is the supression of the counterrevolution in Kosovo."

All these actions and such calls may be considered as deliriums of people caught by the fever of chauvinism. But this hysteria is being escalated. Now the threats against the Albanians of Kosovo in order to subdue them, to impose those constituent changes which violate the autonomy gained through struggle just like all the other peoples of Yugoslavia, which limit the rights of using the mother tongue, the flag, etc., are being escalated from one meeting to the other, from one newspaper to the other. A continuous psychological terror is being exerted on the Albanians.

Under these circumstances we have the right to be suspicious. Are all this avalanche of slanders and humiliations towards Socialist Albania and the Albanians empty words and chauvinist fantasy of certain individuals, or well-programmed actions by certain responsible circles, aiming to prepare the ground for making use of force, both towards the PSR of Albania and Kosovo and Albanians in Yugoslavia?

Our question is legitimate if the so-called "operative plan" entitled "Kosovo 3" and which is published in the magazine MLADINA in October last year is read.

Here is the content of this plan according to the text issued in MLADINA. The first stage of its application envisages: "88 artillery batteries will be deployed in the region of Tamara-Pastrik in the Albanian border. At 00 hrs all the batteries will simultaneously attack for 160 minutes the positions in the zones of Pec, Djakovica, Orahovac, Veliki Trnavac, Pristina. Their target: the centres of the hostile irredentism organised in Kosmet [former abbreviation of Kosovo and Metohija] and their supporters. The strategic goal is to do away with irredentism in the country's soil.

The Albanian ambassador will be delivered a severe note of protest due to the bestial attack of the Albanian Army against the defenceless Serbian and Montenegrin villages in Kosmet. The ambassador at the UNO will inform the international organisation that Albania has carried out an armed aggression. The international television network will be offered film strips of houses, of an hospital and of a creche destroyed and of hundreds of civilians killed or mutilated. In particular touching will be the film strips of hats in hand, people, who see Comrade Tito's photo on the bodies of the victims. The chief of the headquarters will select the messages by honest Albanians from Albania who denounce the aggression and pray for fraternal aid.

Second Stage

The armed forces in the Army's composition will respond to the armed provocation and will defend the national soil from the further aggression. Two divisions will penetrate from Prizren in the direction of Kukes-Puke-Shkoder, a division from Titograd in the direction of Shkodra-Lezhe-Lac-Durres. Five divisions from Ohrid zone in the direction of Prrenjas-Elbasan-Tirana-Durres. In the context of the defensive operations centres of Albanian irredentism will be discovered and destroyed, the network and incontestible proofs pertaining to their international links are discovered. Through an urgent operation special Albanian terrorists who hinder the operation aiming at establishing peace and who write or launch various slogans will be neutralised.

Fourth Stage (third stage is lacking in the text—our note)

The situation of special peace will be proclaimed. The Albanian people will hail with acclamations the motorized troops, who have liberated the country, strive for the international peaceful coexistence and explain the content of the booklet "Only an Honest Albanian Is a Good Albanian". The international television centres will be offered film strips on the actions of honest Albanian chettas [partisan bands] from Kosmet fighting on the front line and in particular speak ardently on the content of the booklet. The film strips indicate a detachment which marches through villages and many honest Albanians join them. They spontaneously speak in favour of the booklet and sing songs from this booklet.

Fifth Stage

The liberated Radio Tirana broadcasts an appeal through which recommends the right demands of the honest Albanians seeking that an end be put to the compulsory isolation of Albania and it be included in the united Balkans. A commentator from the ranks of the honest Albanians of Kosmet explains in detail the notion of fraternity and its fruitful activity in the strategy of unification in the conditions of special peace.

In all the national television centres, special speakers speak of the manifestations of solidarity in Salonika [Thessaloniki] and in other fraternal countries."

Hence, as the above mentioned text indicates, it results that someone in Yugoslavia works out schemes not only for the denationalisation of the Albanians, but also for their physical extermination and for the realisation of Albania's gulping down in the Yugoslav Federation by military force.

This explains all that savagery of the Yugoslav propaganda towards Albania and that great pressure and terror, not only psychological, exercised towards the Albanians in Kosovo and elsewhere. This is why the Yugoslav propaganda strives to create in the international public opinion on Albania the image of an aggressive country, of a country which deals with intrigues and infidelities, etc. Thus according to the Belgrade chauvinists the "Albanian provocation" against Yugoslavia might become more credible, its reaction to attack Albania and massacre the Albanians of Kosovo even more justified.

We would like to say to the inspirers of these fascist plans that neither in the past, or at present, or in the future the Albanians have not been afraid of and do not fear anybody. They want peace and friendship with peoples, but you can say most seriously to everybody who thinks of warmongering plans and using force: "Don't play with the fire, you will burn yourself in it, wherever you light it."

It is known that there are provocateurs, that there are crazy chauvinists who live with macabre dreams. But the crazy people, especially those who threaten the others and plan to use force and cause bloodshed will be shackled. We believe that in Yugoslavia there exist many realistic people, fighters for genuine cooperation and friendship among the peoples, people who do not reconcile with the anti-Albanian plans worked out by the sinister forces who wish good neither to Socialist Albania and Albanians, nor to the Federal Yugoslavia itself and its peoples.

Peace and good neighbourliness in the Balkans call for, as it was also stressed in the recent Tirana meeting, that such actions exciting hatred among peoples be done away with, that the rights of every nation, nationality, and minority be observed. The warmongering plans are not an expression of the good will. They must be exposed, condemned, they must be officially outdistanced. This is the way the spirit of understanding and confidence is created and not with words and double-faced stands.

Cami Speaks at Partisan Anniversary Rally

AU2301124889 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 23 Jan 89

["45th Anniversary of the Creation of the 5th Shock Brigade Commemorated With Enthusiasm"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, January 23 (ATA)—The people of Vlore city celebrated together with the former partisans of the 5th Shock Brigade who had come from various districts of the country the 45th anniversary of the creation of this militant partisan formation.

On this occasion a rally was organised at the "Hysni Kapo" Square, where the former partisans of the brigade lined up as 45 years ago. Present also were working people of the economic enterprises and institutions, veterans, deputies and counselors, members and relatives of the martyrs' families, military men, young men and women, Pioneers of Enver, as well as invitees from the other districts.

Attending were also the member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the party Central Committee, Comrade Foto Cami; the former cadre of this brigade, the member of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee and vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, Comrade Manush Myftiu; the members of the party Central Committee, Spiro Koleka and Vito Kapo, and other comrades.

Bouquets of flowers were laid by the monument erected to Comrade Hysni Kapo, former commissar of the 5th Shock Brigade, by Comrade Foto Cami and Manush Myftiu and other comrades.

On behalf of the party Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania and Comrade Ramiz Alia, the participants in the rally were greeted by Comrade Foto Cami, who said among others:

We have gathered here in Vlore, in this city known in history for its outstanding patriotic and freedom-loving traditions, to celebrate together the 45th anniversary of the creation of one of the most prominent partisan brigades that through its heroic battles inscribed glorious pages in the great epic of the partisan National Liberation War. The more the years go by the more magnificent the epic of the partisan war, the higher the people's heroism in this is raised and the more glorious and brilliant the party's deed and that of our great and unforgettable commander, Comrade Enver Hoxha becomes. The figure of the ardent patriot and revolutionary, the outstanding leader of our party and state, Comrade Hysni Kapo, former commissar of this brigade, brightens among the partisan heroism.

The 5th Brigade had in its fold also the untiring party worker, the outstanding son of Vlore, Comrade Manush Myftiu.

After pointing out the great tasks of the 4th year of the 8th 5-year plan, he said that this year we will celebrate the 45th anniversary of the liberation of the homeland and the triumph of the people's revolution. It is a tradition in our country that the celebrations of great events be accompanied with great joys. Such joys are accompanied with the high results at work, the realisation of the economic tasks, the realisation and overfulfilment of the plans. This is an important front of the struggle our Party of Labour with Comrade Ramiz Alia at the head is waging to build socialism, to consolidate the freedom and independence, to flourish Albania and continuously uplift the well-being level of the people.

Dwelling on some problems of the present international situation, he pointed out among others that our country has been and is for normal friendly relations with all other countries and with the neighbouring countries in particular, with which we are bound by common interests. Albania has voiced this constructive spirit of understanding and trust, cooperation and good neighbourliness in all the inter-Balkan meetings just as in the latest Tirana meeting of the deputy foreign ministers of the Balkan countries, a meeting which marked another step forward towards the creation of that political atmosphere and spirit of friendship and fruitful cooperation which responds to the interests of all the peoples of our region.

Plaka, Malile Receive Romania's Oancea

Malile Discusses Relations

AU2301203089 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, received today Constantin Oancea, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the SR of Romania, and held a cordial and friendly talk with him.

At their meeting, they assessed the [word indistinct] of the meeting of deputy foreign ministers of the Balkan states that took place recently in Tirana, which represented a new step in efforts to promote the process of Balkan understanding and cooperation. They also exchanged views on expanding relations between Albania and Romania, and the possibility of extending them in economic, trading, technical, and cultural fields, and other areas of mutual interest.

Plaka Discusses Bilateral Ties

AU2301203189 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Sokrat Plaka, deputy minister of foreign affairs, held talks today with Constantin Oancea, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the SR of Romania. During the talks, views were exchanged on the history of bilateral relations hitherto, and the common desire was expressed to develop and expand them further in various fields of common interest. Various aspects of today's international situation were also discussed.

Greek Envoy Holds Talks With Officials

NC2101174189 Athens Domestic Service in Greek 1600 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Text] The ATHENS NEWS AGENCY reports from Tirana that Ambassador Konstandinos Yeoryiou, secretary general of the Foreign Ministry, had talks with Albanian officials on bilateral matters following the conclusion of the work of the Balkan meeting. Yeoryiou had talks yesterday with Manush Myftiu, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and today with Foreign Minister Reis Malile and Deputy Foreign Minister Muhamet Kapllani. All matters pertaining to economic cooperation and the possibility of upgrading it will again be discussed at the meeting which Yeoryiou is expected to have with Malile in Gjirokaster on (?16) February.

Balkan Committee Talks With Greek Peace Groups

AU2301125489 Tirana ATA in English
0745 GMT 23 Jan 89

["Exchange of Friendship Messages—Meeting of the Representatives of the Albanian Committee for the Balkan Understanding and Cooperation and the Representatives of the Greek Movements of Peace"—ATA headline]

[Text] Tirana, January 23 (ATA)—A meeting of friendship of the representatives of the Albanian Committee for the Balkan Understanding and Cooperation and the representatives of the Greek organizations of the Movement for Independence and Peace (AKE); the Greek Committee for Peace and International Detente (EEDYE); and the Movements for National Independence, Peace, and International Disarmament (KEADEA) was organized in Kakavije of Gjirokaster District on January 22.

Attending the meeting for the Albanian side were the vice chairman of the Albanian Committee for the Balkan Understanding and Cooperation, Prof Dr Lefter Xhuveli, and the members of this Committee, Prof Rexhep Mejdani and Diana Culi. Attending was also the chairman of the Executive Committee of the Gjirokaster District People's Council, Flamur Cani.

Present for the Greek side were the secretary of EEDYE, Jorgos Capogas; the member of the Secretariat of AKE, Andonis Dhamigos; the general vice secretary of KEADEA, Athanasios Nifiotis. Present was also the vice mayor of the Ioannina Municipality, Alekos Kamberis [Greek personal names as received].

During the meeting, Lefter Xhuveli and Jorgos Capogas spoke and exchanged messages of friendship. They evaluated the efforts and contribution of the Balkan peoples for the consolidation of their friendship, preservation of peace and security on our peninsula. They underlined also that the meeting of the deputy foreign ministers of the Balkans, held in Tirana recently, marked another forward step towards the promotion of the positive process of understanding, trust and cooperation among the states and peoples of this region.

Through its message, the Albanian Committee of the Balkan Understanding and Cooperation expresses to the Greek movements for peace the sentiments of friendship and the sincere desire for security, understanding, and cooperation in our region.

Whereas the message of the representatives of the Greek movements of peace stresses among the other things the need for further development of the friendly relations among our countries, in the interest of cooperation and stability in our peninsula.

The meeting passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

In honour of the Greek friends, the amateur artists of the "Dropulli" Ensemble gave a program with Albanian and Greek folk songs and dances. Those present in the meeting sang and danced together with the artists.

On January 22 too, the Greek movements conducted such activities in other neighbouring Balkan countries as well.

Leaders' Public Appearances for 13-20 Jan

AU2001182489 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts between 13 and 20 January 1989 reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Ramiz Alia, AWP CC (Central Committee) secretary and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Adil Carcani, AWP CC Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Besnik Bekteshi, Foto Cami, Hajredin Celiku, Hekuran Isai, Lenka Cuko, Prokop Murra, Rita Marko, and Simon Stefani, AWP CC Politburo members; Kico Mustaqi, Llambi Gegprifti, Pirro Kondi, and Vangjel Cerrava, AWP CC Politburo candidate members, attended on 16 January a ceremony at which Manush Myftiu, AWP CC Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, was awarded the decoration of the Order of Freedom, First Class, on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of his birth. (1900 GMT 16 Jan 89)

Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs, received on 18 January the heads of the Balkan delegations attending the conference of Balkan deputy foreign ministers in Tirana. (1500 GMT 18 Jan 89)

Manush Myftiu, AWP CC Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, received on 19 January Ivan Ganev and Milivoje Maksic, the deputy foreign ministers of Bulgaria and the SFRY. (1900 GMT 19 Jan 89)

***Dissidents Arrested Prior to Mitterrand Visit**
WA2900001489 Paris LIBERATION in French 13 Jan 89 p 20

[Article by Georges Dupoy: "Bulgaria: Arresting the Protestors"]

[Text] Bulgarian chief of state Todor Zhivkov generously reduced the full schedule of his counterpart Francois Mitterrand, who will be making an official visit to Bulgaria next week, by arresting all the human rights militants he could find—at least a dozen—in only 1 day, Wednesday [11 Jan].

Indeed, the French president is accustomed to meeting dissidents when he visits totalitarian countries. By making them disappear, Mr Zhivkov spares him this task.

It was Wednesday, at 1330, when a squad of police barged into Petur Manolov's house in Plovdiv, where the poet was holding a meeting of the Independent Association for Human Rights. Everyone was hauled away: the priest Orago Topuzliev, the painter Dimitur Tomov, Stefan Volkov, Isvetan Zlatomov, Yusof Babechki, and Boris Lavgiev [names as published].

Besides the arrests, the police rummaged through the poet's apartment, taking away all his papers, manuscripts, books, and even his typewriter.

At exactly the same hour, in Ruse, a port city on the Danube, the police arrested Lyuben Sobadzhev, a bargeman and member of the association, and searched his apartment from top to bottom.

As for Katya Markova, a young university student and head of the Sofia branch—expelled from the university, she now works as a hotel maid—she disappeared without a trace Wednesday about noon, leaving a 6-year-old daughter and a sick mother at home. In addition, the fate of the association's president, Ilya Minev, is unknown. Mr Minev, 71, a chemist, had been in prisons and camps for 27 years.

The Independent Association for Human Rights was created only a year ago, on the basis of Article 52 of the Bulgarian Constitution, which permits freedom of association. The association's objectives are to abrogate political articles of the penal code and "to promote the government's campaign against arbitrary actions and violations of human rights."

Its adherents, numbering about 100, have requested official registration three times—all in vain. The only reaction of the Bulgarian authorities has been a "progressive" repression directed at the association's members.

This escalation has been carried out in the following manner:
1) House arrest (Ilya Minev, Gregor Simov, et al.)
2) Temporary arrest (Ivan Totev, et al.)
3) Expulsion (Eduard Genov, Ivan Kutrovski, et al.)
4) Harassment (Lyuben Sobadzhev, et al.)
5) Mass arrests, such as those on Wednesday, which could lead to trials.

As a result, the Bulgarian Government seems determined to eliminate in one way or another any form of opposition, beginning with the demands for human rights, and also to repeal the Helsinki accords. The opening salvos were fired on 29 December with Rumen Tsenkov's arrest in Lom (in the northwest). A member of the association, he was taken to Sofia to the headquarters of the formidable Durzhaven Sigurnost, or secret police, at 2 Razvigor Street.

On 6 January, it was another militant's turn: the teacher Stefan Cholakov, picked up openly by the police on a street in Vratsa at 9:30 in the morning while he was on his way to class.

For Todor Zhivkov, 75 [he is actually 77], the best way to resolve the problem of human rights in Bulgaria is to get rid of those who demand that they be observed—a good way to apply the Helsinki accords. Are there any more protestors?

***Placed Under House Arrest**
WA2900001389 Paris LE MONDE in French 17 Jan 89 p 4

[Text] House Arrests—The human rights militants who were arrested in Plovdiv on 11 January (LE MONDE 13 Jan) when they tried to hold a meeting were released from prison Sunday 15 January, but placed under house arrest in the provinces. Several of them have undertaken a hunger strike as a protest.

***Regime Pressured by Intelligentsia, Dissidents**
WA2900001289 Paris LE MONDE in French 17 Jan 89 p 4

[Article by Sylvie Kauffmann: "Bulgaria Copes With the 'Gorbachev Effect': Economically—Toying With Restructuring, Politically—A Determined Resistance to Glasnost"]

[Text] Francois Mitterand will be making an official visit to Bulgaria on Wednesday, 18 February. He will be the guest of Todor Zhivkov, who, while praising economic restructuring, firmly holds the reins of power in his own hands.

It is often said that "when it begins to rain in Moscow, one should open an umbrella in Sofia." Annoyed, the president of the Writers Union, Lyubomir Levchev, who also serves as a member of the BCP's Central Committee, takes refuge in irony when one evokes the cliche "16th Soviet republic," conjured up during the course of the Zhivkov years.

But Bulgaria is no longer what it used to be. Brezhnev's faithful friend, the elderly Zhivkov, who, at 77, has been in power for 34 years and still holds the honor of being the senior statesman of the Soviet bloc, has been uncomfortable in adapting to the "new mentality of the Gorbachev era," even though he tries to save face.

It is not, however, "restructuring"—"preustroystvo" in Bulgarian—that is missing here. Solemnly consecrated by the July 1987 BCP Central Committee Plenum, which has since acquired the mandatory magical appellation "July Concept," "preustroystvo" has appeared in a profusion of measures whose concrete results are difficult to discern. Considerable mistrust has arisen in the rural areas, where a vital sector, agriculture—which had been collectivized earlier and later subjected to a cooperative system, then in 1970 converted into "agro-industrial complexes"—is to be administered in the future by a system of "brigades." The administrative system is supposed to undergo sweeping decentralization, but in Sofia it is presently practically impossible to determine how many people have been affected by this reorganization. "The situation leaves much to be desired," an eminent jurist admits. The press was also been called upon last year to "restructure itself." Some titles have disappeared, other publications have merged, but, again, the chief editors remain perplexed when asked how many journalists have been fired. "To tell the truth, the only significant changes are in the economy," a Western diplomat concludes. "But is it enough? For 40 years the masses have found themselves in this same state of lethargy."

This is actually the official leitmotif: All the country's strength should be concentrated on economic reform. A long decree on economic activity, which entered into force on 11 January last year, introduced the possibility for Bulgarians to create private enterprises employing up to 10 people and sought to attract foreign investment with new arrangements for joint enterprises. "But it won't work like that!" exclaims an intellectual who is also a party member. "It should not be done in such haste, to suddenly issue a decree in which some provisions even contradict the labor code adopted scarcely 2 years ago. It's the same thing for self-management—the workers barely accept it. We cannot have economic liberalization without political liberalization. They cannot tie up your feet and at the same time order you to walk."

Mandatory Shibboleths

Political reform? Certainly, it is also a question in Bulgaria—at least in theory. In keeping with the "July Concept," Zhivkov announced in August 1987 the creation of a commission to revise the Constitution. But this commission, chaired by Zhivkov himself, has not yet begun its deliberations. "There are many problems to be resolved," says Boris Spasov delicately. The professor, a member of the commission, continues even more prudently: "We have considered it useful to await the changes under way in the Soviet Union and in other socialist countries."

Apparently immovable, Todor Zhivkov, BCP General Secretary and head of state, reigns authoritatively over this amiable disorder. He doubtless knows that Mikhail Gorbachev has, at least for the time being, enough to keep him busy at home. Perhaps he also tells himself that "restructuring" is not eternal....

Wisely, Zhivkov has known how to adopt the mandatory vocabulary and to avoid anything that could collide with Gorbachev's sensibilities, freely renouncing his former friends. As in Moscow, everything in Sofia with Brezhnev's name has been rechristened. Bulgaria's number one has in other respects chosen discretion over the excesses of a Ceausescu and completely renounced the personality cult.

Todor Zhivkov has firm control over the BCP. Even if in the Politburo he permits a few moderates who pass for being a little more open to sit beside the old guard, the party remains hermetically sealed against glasnost. Discrepancies in language or conduct are severely punished, as illustrated by the expulsions from the party's leading organs in July and December 1988.

In a country that has known "neither Sakharov nor Charter 77," as the Bulgarians themselves disclose, the regime has not gone to any trouble for human rights. According to all observers, the policy of forced assimilation of the Turkish minority continues, and the independent militants for human rights, who organized themselves as an association a year ago, are harassed constantly by the secret police.

However, in his zeal to control any flirtation with glasnost or independence, the old leader seems to have underestimated two factors: the Gorbachev effect, first of all, on a population that was Russophile—who in Bulgaria can forget that the Russians helped liberate the country after 5 centuries of the "Ottoman Yoke"?—and Russophone, reading all the Soviet press and watching "Big Brother's" television. And the second factor is the role of the Bulgarian intellectuals, who are straining more and more at the leash. These factors are the impetus for two initiatives that have sent a veritable shock wave through the cultural and political world during recent months.

The Intellectuals and Glasnost

It all began with a pollution incident that took on dramatic proportions in the city of Ruse on the Danube. On the other side of the river, on the Romanian shore, a chlorine factory constructed by the Soviets has poisoned the air and water since 1983. On 10 February last year, the inhabitants of Ruse took to the streets. Some organs of the Bulgarian press echoed the protest. On 8 March,

during a meeting at the House of the Film in Sofia before an audience of several hundred, a group of intellectuals created the Independent Committee for the Defense of the City of Ruse. A leadership council of 26 members was elected, among whom were trainer and deputy leader of the women's gymnastic team Neshka Robeva, and the chairman of the painters' union, Svetlin Rusev, also a member of the Central Committee.

But the regime could not tolerate the participation of officials in such a movement. Quickly the sanctions fell, resulting eventually in the expulsion of Svetlin Rusev from the Central Committee and his dismissal as head of the painters union, and the disgrace of Stoyan Mikhaylov, the Central Committee secretary for ideology and culture, who had promised to support the Ruse committee. The unrest spread to the press. Finally, to secure the hatches, the regime created an official committee for protecting the environment, whose chairman, to increase security, would be the party secretary for Ruse.

But there are worms in the apple. The artistic and intellectual communities are stirring more and more; the second initiative has emerged, and the idea arose during the summer to set up a club to support glasnost. With contacts established, a group began to search despairingly for a room to hold a meeting. Everywhere they encountered the same response—that rooms were not rented except to "organizations." In October 2,000 people, each with a flower in his hand, met at an exhibit of Rusev's art in Sofia. On 3 November at the amphitheater number 65 at the Philosophy Department of the University of Sofia, about 100 people, many of mature years, waited until the lecture on scientific communism ended. It was the only room they could find in which to meet and establish the "Club for the Support of Glasnost and Restructuring [preustroystvo] in Bulgaria." A declaration was adopted, and leadership bodies elected containing numerous party members and leading cultural figures. "That was a very exciting moment," the well-known writer Blaga Dimitrova remembers. "I felt proud to be invited along with these distinguished scientists, literary figures..." A student came by and exclaimed: "If I had known that such an occasion would take place here, I would have shaved and put on a tie!" Other young people wanted to join the club, but we told them: "Wait, don't take risks yet. Continue your studies, that's practical."

Two months later, in her Sofia apartment, which she calls a "hangar for books," sitting under a poster of Vysotsky, Blaga Dimitrova looks clearly and expressively, her face saddened, and explains the objectives of the club to us: "We want to initiate a dialogue in this society without a confrontation, to serve as a brake on excesses. Our club was established to find a road specifically for Bulgaria that takes into consideration our national traditions. Our struggle against fascism was unique."

Iskra Pankova uses a more militant language; she has, after all, been a militant in the Communist Party since youth, a veteran fighter "against fascism and capitalism," as the saying goes. "The party documents place more and more emphasis on spontaneous initiative," she says. "Well, our club is a response to official appeals. We want free discussion; we want to create a small beachhead for the most elementary democracy. It's high time things changed. Our society is in a crisis; we cannot go on as we have in the past."

Expulsions

The Bulgarian press observed a complete silence about the birth of the club. Then, quickly, the repression began. The control over photocopiers was strengthened to impede the club's reproduction of documents. The club members, who were also party members—about two-thirds of the approximately 150 members—were summoned to party tribunals, others to meetings at the Prosecutor's Office. Telephone lines were cut and people shadowed. Then, an escalation: In mid-December four members were arrested during a search. They were released after 5 hours. Three people were expelled from the party: a philosopher, a journalist, and a retired colonel. Boris Spasov, 63, was threatened with expulsion from the veterans' committee. The cell he belonged to rebelled when it learned that he had been expelled without its being consulted.

In his office at the physical chemistry faculty, Academician Alexey Shelutko [name as published] 68, "a resister from the very beginning," carefully weighs his words. People like him are not accustomed to talking with Western journalists; that is a direction they feel forced to take after they realized that their own press allows them no recourse. And, under these regimes, it is not without risk. "The worst thing for us," Professor Shelutko says softly, "is that they want to have restructuring from top to bottom. But, even if they are geniuses—and I am not sure they are—it will not work." His eyes fill with tears when we mention Sakharov's name. "He is one of the greatest men," he says, his voice breaking with emotion, and then he appeals to the French to help Gorbachev. "It would be a terrible thing if perestroyka ended."

Since 3 November the club members have not been able to meet because they lack a room. They see one another in small groups. For the moment, there is no question of declaring themselves defeated. After all, haven't they succeeded in arousing a debate among the editorial staffs, the creative unions, perhaps even in some party cells? Few officials questioned have dared to condemn the club when speaking to us. They are forced to recognize that its objectives are not reprehensible in themselves, and are reluctant to disavow people who are highly regarded in the country. They prefer to talk about "demogoguery, abuse of perestroyka." Convinced of the justice of her cause, Blaga Dimitrova quotes the great revolutionary Vasil Levski, who fought against the Turkish Yoke: "Make up your own minds, and you will be free."

Further on 5th Day of Prague Demonstrations

AU2301122289 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Jan 89 p 2

["pz, wt"-signed report: "Order-Enforcing Units Took Action"]

[Text] Prague (from our correspondents)— At 1700 on Thursday [19 January], another provocative action took place in the upper part of Wenceslas Square. Egged on by organizers from the so-called independent groups, a crowd of some 2,000 persons was chanting slogans, in which it identified with the antisocialist activity of Czechoslovak dissidents.

Participants in the demonstration were repeatedly warned via loudspeakers that the rally had not been authorized; and they were called upon to disperse and to maintain public order. Some of those present thereupon left the area. Others, however, started to chant slogans and made clear their refusal to respect the agencies of state power. Following repeated appeals that went unheeded, members of order-enforcing units therefore took action against them, by using truncheons. As we have been informed, several tens of the most active participants in the provocative acts were brought up before the local public security station.

Opposition Says Five Released

AU2301075189 Paris AFP in English 2223 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Text] Prague, Jan 22 (AFP)—Five people detained during mass demonstrations to mark the suicide of Jan Palach 20 years ago were released Sunday [22 January], Czech opposition sources said.

Police used truncheons and water cannons last week to break up a series of demonstrations in Prague's Wenceslas Square, where Jan Palach, a student, set himself alight on January 16, 1969, to protest the Soviet intervention that ended the Prague Spring reforms of former leader Alexander Dubcek.

The five demonstrators who were freed—Borislav Holecek, Josef Zacek, Marek Ptacek, Jiri Svoboda and Lubomir Jaros—still face charges of disturbing public order, and face up to two years in prison.

Tomas Hradilek, a spokesman for the human rights group Charter 77, was also released Sunday. He was detained on Friday after urging people to gather at Jan Palach's grave.

Charter 77's other two spokesmen, Dana Nemcova and Sacha Vondra, who were arrested last Monday [16 January], were still being held.

The archbishop of Prague, Frantisek Tomasek, said on Sunday that he had sent a leter to the Czech Government last week strongly protesting against the police breaking up the demonstrations.

Charter 77 Official Notes Police Actions

AU2301190789 Vienna KURIER in German 23 Jan 89 p 3

["D.V."-signed report: "This Is How the 'Pilgrimage' to Palach's Grave Was Prevented"]

[Text] The Prague regime was able to prevent the "pilgrimage" scheduled for Saturday [21 January] to Jan Palach's grave in Vsetaty due to a massive use of police units.

As KURIER learned from former Charter 77 spokeswoman Kanturkova on Sunday, the state security service pursued a perfidious tactic: Contrary to the announcement that no trains would stop in Vsetaty on Saturday, trains were permitted to stop. When the "pilgrims" left the cars, however, they were filmed by security service cameramen. In the square behind the train station all arrivals—many young people among them—were brought to the police buses that were parked there and were searched. Then, the arrested people were taken into the yard of an agricultural cooperative, where they had to wait for hours and were interrogated. At dusk, the would-be "pilgrims" were then taken to the surrounding train stations or left somewhere on the road. In the evening, Prague television service carried a report that "due to a lack of interest," no one had come to Vstetaty.

A protest march to Prague Castle on Sunday was brutally prevented by the militia.

Party Committee Discusses Security Situation

LD2301182889 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] The Committee for Party Work in the Czech SR today discussed a report by Vaclav Jiracek, Czech minister of the interior and the environment, on the state security situation, including attempts to stage antistate demonstrations in our capital.

He praised the responsible attitude of working collectives, Communists, and members of other political parties who firmly rejected the attempts of disruptive forces aiming against the socialist society.

The committee expressed support and praise for members of the public security forces and the people's militia, and fully supports all lawful measures adopted by the state bodies to ensure calm and order, and directed against those who break the law.

The committee also underlined the demand to extensively develop a strong ideological and political organizational activity of the party organizations in working,

youth, and civic collectives. It also approved the proposal to make TRYBUNA—a weekly for political issues and Central Committee ideology—a press organ of the committee.

The committee also assessed the principles of the work by state bodies of the Czech SR in increasing the flow of information to the public.

Czech Prosecutor's Statement on Demonstrations

AU2301102689 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 21 Jan 89 p 2

[CTK report: "Statement by the Czech SR Prosecutor General's Office on the Prague Events; Uncompromisingly Held Criminally Liable"]

[Text] Prague—During the last few days, street demonstrations took place in the CSSR capital. These were inspired by a subversive ideological campaign from abroad and were organized by illegal domestic structures. They were organized by individuals who have never regarded socialism as their concern, who want to abuse the process of restructuring and democratization to become the representatives of some kind of political opposition, and who very frequently are people who have become politically bankrupt and are now pursuing their personal interests.

The support of the foreign information media and also of certain political circles is vitally important for their activity. One of the forms used for pushing through their demands is the organization of public acts of pressure in city conurbations, primarily in our capital, Prague. The demonstrations in the streets of our cities are meant to draw attention to antisocialist opposition streams, to lead to disturbances of public order, and to incite other citizens, who are so far uninvolved bystanders, to engage in manifestations of antisocialism, thus creating the impression that the opposition structures have the support of our general public.

All participants in demonstrations staged without a permit may held liable, in a differentiated way according to how serious and intense their behavior is.

The organizers and initiators of unauthorized demonstrations and of similar pressure acts aimed at destabilizing the state power, who are acting out of enmity toward socialism and are led by the effort to disrupt and undermine the political foundations of the Republic, must expect to face strict criminal sanctions. The activity of persons spreading appeals to attend demonstrations among our citizens, although they know that these pursue antisocialist aims, is also very grave.

Persons failing to obey the national security corps' call to disperse, and intending to take an active part in a demonstration which they know has not been authorized, will also not escape criminal sanctions. Passive participants who attend a demonstration mostly out of curiosity, although they know that it has not been authorized, and who remain there despite the calls of national security corps agents to disperse, are liable to be punished for committing a minor offense against public order.

We are leaving no one in doubt that the basic principles of our socialist society, anchored in the CSSR Constitution, will remain unchanged even during the democratization of our society. We are and will remain a socialist state, and the National Front, headed by the CPCZ, will remain the foundation of our political system. Nobody may act as a parasite on the process of restructuring and democratization. The laws of the socialist state apply to everybody, and all those who violate them must expect to be held legally liable.

It is the primary task of all agencies of the prosecutor's office to effectively help protect our socialist state and our social system, and ensure the security of the state. In implementing the penal policy of our socialist state, the prosecutor's office provides for a consistent protection of society's interests and of the rights and freedoms of the citizens, and is helping to ensure that all those who violate the laws of society are held strictly liable under the criminal law.

Stepan Praises Militia for Keeping Order

AU2301122389 Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech 17 Jan 89 p 1

["jt"-signed report: "Determination of Militiamen"]

[Text] Prague—Yesterday [16 January] afternoon Miroslav Stepan, CPCZ Central Committee member and leading secretary of the CPCZ City Committee, visited the CKD Sokolovo plant, where he spoke to the chiefs of 10 district staffs of the people's militia (LM) and with the militiamen of the plant unit, which is one of the founders of the LM's traditions. Vilem Danda, chief of the LM city staff, was also present on the occasion.

In his opening statement, Comrade M. Stepan briefed those present on the political situation in the capital and appraised, among other things, the militiamen's enterprising role in keeping order during the Sunday incident, which despite all warnings was carried out by Charter 77 in Wenceslas Square. In an extremely frank and comradely discussion, he replied to questions and assured listeners that the city agencies would use all appropriate means in the case of a repetition of the attempt to illegally disturb peace and order in Prague.

At the conclusion of the meeting, the militiamen presented Comrade Stepan with an open letter in which they assure the party's city committee of their resolve to totally fulfill the LM's historic mission.

Editorial Views Prague 'Disturbances'
AU2301182189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 20 Jan 89 p 1

[Editorial: "We Will Not Allow the Republic To Be Subverted"]

[Text] This week disturbances have taken place in the center of Prague. The slogans that are chanted in Wenceslas Square, slogans against the socialist state, against its government, against the Communist Party, show that the demonstrations are antistate in nature. We are talking about demonstrations behind which stand the political shipwreaks of the years 1968-69, and also new antisocialist groups which for their political and material support depend on the reactionary forces of countries of the North Atlantic pact, particularly the United States.

RUDE PRAVO together with other daily newspapers, radio, and television has in recent days been explaining the background and circumstances of the disturbances, which were chronologically linked to the conclusion of the Vienna meeting. The pretext for Sunday's [15 January] provocative act by antisocialist forces in Wenceslas Square was the date of the 20th anniversary of the senseless and tragic death of the student Jan Palach. This had been prepared abroad for a long time, especially by the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe. The aforementioned radio stations popularized, and in fact instigated, the calls for a repetition of parallel senseless acts. Incidentally, our newspaper has also drawn attention to this aspect of the "coordinated collaboration" of U.S. radio stations and the so-called Charter.

Even some "Chartists" distanced themselves from this action, which raised the level of public opinion against its organizers. For example, Prof Milan Machovec requested RUDE PRAVO print his words, which were a warning against any kind of ill-considered acts.

The organizers of this antistate act considered neither its prohibition nor any other sensible arguments, and attempted to whip up unrest. They brought loudmouths and hooligans to Wenceslas Square, and their voices were passed off as public opinion, as disagreement with the political orientation of our state. Many young people without any political experiences also attended, the majority of whose ideas about the words which they were repeating after the organizers of the provocation—words about freedom and democracy, and so on—were completely abstract and naive. This is a fact about which many adults ought to think—parents, advisers, teachers, and others.

Thirteen- and 14-year-old schoolchildren also appeared at the demonstrations. As some of them said, they came because it is a "sensation" and it will be "fun".

However, the organizers did not at all bother about fun or sensation. This is incidentally confirmed by the fact that the "Charter" centered many of its out-of-town supporters in Prague. Almost 50 percent of the active participants in the disturbance were from out of town.

For a long time now it has been shown more and more obviously that antisocialist forces and their Western patrons are intent on a deliberate and purposefully led confrontation with the Czechoslovak socialist state, in an attempt to install a form of some kind of opposition in the socialist state, to gradually obtain a share of political power and afterwards also a share in the decisionmaking concerning the character of the system itself, meaning that they are intent on retaliating for February 1948.

Recently a number of organs and organizations have adopted a stand against the provocative antisocialist forces in Prague—the Central Committee of the Socialist Union of Youth (SSM), the Czechoslovak Union of Antifascist Fighters, the Presidium of the Prague Trade Union Council, and others about whom we report in this newspaper. On Thursday [19 January] in all the municipal districts of our capital, aktivs of the CPCZ were held. From these arose a unanimous call: to vigorously get rid of antisocialist acts and their organizers.

The demands of many collectives reach state organs, the Central Committee of the National Front, and the editorial office of RUDE PRAVO from our factories, from many workplaces and areas of our homeland. Let us not permit anyone to disrupt our process of restructuring and democratization and abuse it for antisocialist aims.

Our socialist society, our political system, create a lot of space for the broad democratic implementation of the pluralism of the interests and opinions of all social strata and interested and political groups of working citizens. However, socialist pluralism has not and will not have anything in common with the creation and functioning of antisocialist political structures. Power in this country belongs to the working man. He fought for it in difficult struggles, and socialism was his choice.

A return to the conditions of the bourgeois republic is unacceptable to our society. It is completely out of the question. Let us stress this explicitly, whether anyone likes it or not.

Justifiably, in these days the voice resounds again: We will not let anyone subvert the Republic!

'Provocations Hamper Restructuring'
AU2301134289 Prague MLADA FRONTA in Czech 21 Jan 89 p 3

["mf"-signed article: "On Some Facts That We Registered in Prague; Provocations Hamper Restructuring"]

[Text] **The 4th [number as published] week of the new year is ending. It has been a week which for some people actually began on Sunday, and for others even much**

earlier. Now it is slowly nearing its end, and many people are asking themselves what it has actually brought us. This question, however, hides many more. And these questions are of various kinds. We do not think that there is any need now to cite or list them in the way we came across them among people. Much more important is the fact that the replies to these questions have caused confusion, for they differ.

What actually happened?

It was, above all, the inhabitants of Prague—but they were not the only ones—who to a greater or lesser extent registered attempts to create a certain hysteria in connection with the meaningless suicide Jan Palach 20 years ago. We have already written about the anonymous letter to Mr Havel, which threatened that there would be further living torches. We have also written about who organized the unauthorized gathering in Wenceslas Square on Sunday, 15 January, and in what manner. After all, the organizers addressed us via the radio waves or through leaflets that had been disseminated. But there were other anonymous messages: For example, on Saturday, 14 January, at 1400, an unidentified person announced on [emergency telephone] number 158 that under telephone number 26-12-88 one could hear a tape-recorded message, which, if listened to, could save the lives of 5 persons. The telephone number is that of the daily VECERNI PRAHA and, when not manned, is intended as a service for those who are absent. In other words, telephone messages are recorded automatically. What was on the tape? An anonymous voice—it called itself Torch No 1—said that if Wenceslas Square were to be closed off on Sunday, five people would burn themselves in the Old Town Square, in Wenceslas Square, in Hradcany Square, on Perstyn, and in the main railroad station.

Telephone number 158 is that of the public security corps. On Monday, 9 January, at 0826, an unidentified caller announced that a bomb would go off in the Nad Stolou secondary school in an hour's time. Bomb disposal experts found nothing. At 1430, there was another anonymous telephone call. A bomb had been placed at the main railroad station. It was checked immediately, but nothing was found. On Friday, 13 January, at 1141, an unidentified caller said that there would be an explosion in the Secondary Hotel School in Prague. Bomb disposal experts again found nothing. On Saturday, 14 January, an anonymous person said that a bomb had been placed in the Kotva Department Store. Again there was a lightning check, which refuted the concern. One day later, at 1832, an unidentified caller announced that there was a bomb behind the National Theater. The result of the check is again negative. All the checks were unnecessary. Unnecessary? What if really....

It is Saturday, 14 January. Prague basks in sunshine. If it were not for the calendar, which relentlessly shows that it is January, one would think that spring was here. The capital of Austria, Vienna, is preparing for the arrival of 35 foreign ministers from the countries that signed the Helsinki document. The 53-page document, the outcome of much effort by diplomats, had just been adopted. This is what many people in our country were thinking about that Saturday. Quite naturally, perhaps even simplistically, we ask ourselves: Are we not complicating everything that is being prepared there, for the Vienna Final Act? After all, this is actually a hopeless situation—what if someone does burn himself, even if it is only a madman? What if there is a provocation and a clash?

All this is hanging in the air. The national security corps in Prague and the central Bohemian region is on the alert.

In this situation a rock concert, called Concert for Armenia, is held in the sports hall in Prague. It is attended by some 7,500 young people. Everything is alright. Fourteen handwritten leaflets were found after the audience dispersed and went home.

Sunday, 15 January. Organizers of an unathorized gathering meet in the apartment of A. Krob. There are about 25 persons. The same day a female foreign national leaves our territory via the Pomezi border crossing. She had been checked by members of the public security corps in Prague's 4th district at 1800 on 13 January, and it had been proven that she wanted to get in touch with several prominent Charter 77 signatories—for example, P. Uhl, P. Sustrova, V. Maly, and I. Klima.

At 1235, reporters of the West German ARD television station and the French press agency AFP arrive in Wenceslas Square.

The organizers of the unauthorized gathering—Charter 77, the Children of Bohemia, the John Lennon Peace Club, and the Society of Friends of the United States of America, or to put it more accurately: the coordinators of these illegal structures—instruct their members: Arrive via one access road, so that the action attracts the greatest possible attention and the cameramen can record it in the best way possible. It has been proven that many people do not do this "work" for free. Their convictions are regularly paid for in hard currency, transferred to a Tuzex account. The monthly "remuneration" to "chiefs" amounts to up to Tuzex Kcs1,500.

Wenceslas Square on Sunday. What will be happening there today? Human curiosity is sometimes as simple as that. For example, a television camera showed us a man carrying a little girl on his shoulders. Was he going for a walk with the little girl? What, actually, did he want to show her there at that moment? And we would not want to admit to ourselves that he was using her as a possible protective shield.

A conflict did occur. It has been estimated that on that Sunday there were 1,200-1,500 persons in Wenceslas Square. Most of them were in the 18-25 age group. Almost half of them were not from Prague. In the report

one can further read that 403 citizens' papers were checked, 117 were brought up before the police, and 91 of them were held. After intervention by members of the national security corps, which some foreign reports and commentaries described as brutal, nine citizens sought medical attention, seven of them of pensionable age—six women and one man. Five of them said that their injuries had been caused by a stampeding crowd which bowled them over. The other two were hit by a water cannon. One woman had to have her eyes rinsed because of tear gas. In Western commentaries the name Jindrich Saroch cropped up. The man, who has been pensioned off as disabled, was born in 1929. That day he suffered a concussion and a parietal and occipital skull fracture. He was found under the scaffolding of the Blanik movie house after a crowd had rushed past. He has been hospitalized and doctors describe his injury as being of medium seriousness. It is estimated that he will spend 3 weeks in the hospital and 3 more as an outpatient. An investigation is still going on into how his injury occurred, despite the fact that by its very nature one can actually say how it happened.

We must note that this time, too, it was obviously the innocent who suffered. Not by along shot were all of the estimated 1,200-1,500 people in Wenceslas Square anti-socialist-oriented. Both the provocateurs and curious bystanders ran away. Water cannons, tear gas, and, above all, a stampeding crowd are not selective. Who, then, is the real culprit?

The attempts to organize gatherings were repeated on Monday, 16 January, and Tuesday, 17 January. The main organizers were apprehended on Monday between 1530 and 1540—seven persons altogether, Vaclav Havel among them. Relatively moderate means [mirnejsi prostredky] were used against two of them—O. Veverka and J. Petrova—after they attacked members of the national security corps in the course of being apprehended. From among the milling mass of people, estimated at about 700 persons, shouts again resounded: Freedom; Shame on you, Gestapo. After 1700, calm prevailed in Prague. Two persons sought medical treatment.

Compared with Sunday, it was a working day, however. Therefore, the attempt to hold an unauthorized gathering seriously disrupted normal life in the center of Prague —for some their journey home from work, for others their shopping or seeking of entertainment. Tension, concern, and perhaps even fear became the alternative to everyday problems. That day, too, the number of precisely those citizens who—quite by accident—will have to face very unpleasant consequences increased. Was this not the intention?

Tuesday, 17 January, was not much different from Monday. But in Vodickova Street an unidentified youth threw a device at members of the national security corps. It exploded on impact. Fortunately, no one was injured. The same day, a member of the diplomatic corps of one of the Western countries was caught attempting to establish contact with the organizers of the unauthorized gathering. The attempt was thwarted.

Wednesday, 18 January. Since 1500 Wenceslas Square has been filling up with people. People have been standing on the ramp in front of the National Museum since noon. They eat their sandwiches, smoke, wait. This might be an over simplification, but they look like a theater audience in the first row of the balcony. What will happen?

Members of the National Security Corps are on alert. The same Western diplomat is identified moving in the center of the organized activity. Just like the day before. At about 1815 at Krakovska Street, Martin Vechet appeals to those present to disperse quietly. After all, we will meet again on 19 January at 1530. Some go away, others stay to provoke the situation. "We will meet again," they chant. But members of the emergency squads do not intervene. Also, a female diplomat from a Western country and a member of the diplomatic corps from another Western state were identified early the same evening. Thus three foreign diplomats were moving around in the middle of the activity. True, by doing this they are not violating in any way the rules which are precisely spelled out for them. But the question "why, actually, are they here?" inevitably crops up.

That day people are saying that something might take place at the Olsany Cemetery. Here is what is happening there: 18 persons paid a visit to the former J. Palach grave that day. Three of them, for example, were girls about 15 years old. Also an old woman, about 70, came that day. They lit 10 candles.

The members of the National Security Corps did not go into action that day. In Wenceslas Square they monitored 210 citizens. Seventy percent of them were under 25.

On Thursday, 19 January, around 1700, about 2,000 people assembled in Wenceslas Square. At first they were lolling about on the sidewalks and in the central zone. However, they increasingly obstruct life in the center, the flow of traffic on the road and sidewalks for those who saw it as a normal working day. Then there follow several appeals to clear the area, to which many people do not react. Then comes the instruction to deploy order enforcement units. The upper half of Wenceslas Square is cleared in 20 minutes.

During the action more than 350 persons were stopped and about 280 of whom were taken to the police. Of those brought before the police, 23 had criminal records, 80 had been prosecuted before; and the members of the National Security Corps reported 30 persons to national committees. One citizen paid an on-the-spot fine. At 1815, Wenceslas Square was peaceful. Fourteen persons had to get medical attention, including three guardians of public order.

Mayor of Prague Z. Horcik addresses the public in the Czechoslovak Television's evening broadcast. He says lately in Prague in connection with the anniversary of the tragic death of student Palach, there have been numerous serious violations of public order. The Prague national committees, Z. Horcik continued, as bodies responsible for peace and order in the city, have received a number of written and oral statements expressing disagreement with this state of affairs. At its 18 January session, the Council of the National Committee of the capital of Prague discussed the current situation and expressed fundamental disagreement with the activity of irresponsible elements.

In order to realize tasks in Prague, Z. Horcik said further, we must—consistently and with joint forces—ensure calms and order for the life and work of our fellow citizens. In particular, I call on the youth not to let themselves be misused and not to take part in actions which irresponsible groups organize in the center of Prague. I also call on their parents, educators, and teachers to help explain to them the harmfulness of those attempts and to become models of civic responsibility themselves.

The 3d week of the new year is almost over. Let us recall what we wished one another at the beginning of this year, in the first minutes. Robust health, and much happiness and contentment. But for all this we need a calm atmosphere. And for work, too, which in some places is just beginning. However, events such as those we witnessed in the center of Prague do not contribute anything at all to restructuring, with which the considerable majority identifies. Just the opposite is true: They seriously harm it, and not only from the general point of view, but also in quite normal, down-to-earth matters.

Such was this week. We recorded, the same as you, various opinions. Zdenek Vokrouhlicky, member of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation, said on the Czechoslovak radio on Wednesday [18 January]: **"It is my personal opinion that everyone who is able to think at least a bit logically must condemn the actions that we witnessed in Wenceslas Square in recent days, or, rather, in recent evenings. My opinion is that the people behind these acts are not actually striving to resolve some of the problems that exist in our society. Therefore, the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation was founded in Czechoslovakia quite recently. It is capable of—and has already begun—creating prerequisites for a dialogue among various forces and various views, so that we can unite ourselves and thus aid the advancement. The method that some irresponsible elements in Wenceslas Square have chosen will really get us nowhere. On the contrary, I personally think that this method could retard our entire advancement, as well as the solution of urgent issues, such as the assertion of human rights, humanitarian cooperation in the spirit of the final document of the recent Vienna meeting—which just culminated with the Final Act—which was attended by the foreign ministers of all the European countries, the United States, and Canada. That meeting, too, has revealed that precisely the method of dialogue, of seeking mutual compromise, can yield good results. Thus I am deeply convinced that it is necessary to end all these actions as soon as possible, and that people who are really interested in resolving problems even come to the committee for human rights in Czechoslovakia and demand discussions, dialogues, and in this way help to positively solve what our Republic needs to solve today."**

Commentary Examines Charter 77 Funding, Goals

LD2201212089 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Editor Zdenek Tomas commentary: "Who Is Behind the Provocations in Prague?"]

[Text] The questioning of those who were detained quite clearly showed that behind the provocations in Prague lie the signatories and followers of the so-called Charter 77, a movement whose aim, with support from foreign agencies, is to denigrate our system and, using the psychology of violence, ruthlessness, threats, and even terror, to transform it gradually into a puppet of the bourgeois system. So it is by no means coincidental that at a performance stagemanaged by Charter 77 a week ago on Wenceslas Square it was West German and French television correspondents who showed the most interest in being able to film the protest arrival and voice of the protagonists: members of such illegal groups as Charter 77, the Children of Bohemia, the John Lennon Peace Committee, the Independent Peace Association, the Society of Friends of the United States, and so forth.

All this, of course, did not come free of charge. A consignment sent to dissidents in Czechoslovakia last October contained 26,000 Tuzex crowns and, as in other cases, it purported to come from emigres. There are also material gifts, personal computers, videorecorders and cassettes, duplicating equipment, and private cars, often with import duties already paid. One such consignment from Sweden consisted of 370,000 Tuzex crowns. Vaclav Havel, Olga Havlova, and Jiri Hajek, for example, received 9,000 Tuzex crowns each.

Another interesting case is that of Mrs Lonely Lottie [Pani Osamela Lottie], as Jirina Siklova calls herself. The security organs possess a letter written in her own hand. Here are some excerpts: I hereby declare that I voluntarily present Interior Ministry officials with a bank deposit book in the name of Siklova plus the password for access to the book, in which I have money obtained from Mr (Brencan) of the firm (Sven Persson AB) to pay for the social needs of my friends who are signatories of Charter 77. The balance of the account as of today is Kcs 12,514, 40 halers. In addition, I present the sum of 61.5 Tuzex crowns, which is what is left of the sum of 300 Swedish kronas which have been exchanged and given to me by (Dagmar Bouzova) from Sweden. Here end the excerpts from the letter.

Maybe the expression "the social needs of my friends" surprises you. No wonder, because people who need a lot of money have to resort to methods of obtaining it other than by working for it. Such money is outwardly called a little bit of pin money, but it represents a considerable amount. So it is that people calling themselves Whiskers, the Englishman, Ivanic, and other codenames walk proudly in our midst and pass themselves off as oppressed and impoverished victims of the socialist legal order.

The overwhelming majority of our citizens, however, are seeing increasingly clearly who the Charter followers and their lackeys are, and the forces which support them, both ideologically and financially.

Western Media Said Helping To 'Sow' Protests

LD2301224489 Prague International Service in English 1900 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Kvasnicka commentary]

[Text] Last week Prague's Wenceslas Square was a witness to something exceptional. During the late afternoon a group of blusterers gathered under the statue of St Wenceslas for a purpose of attacking socialism. Others who came to the Prague square were reporters from the Voice of America, the West German ARD-TV company, and the staff of the American Embassy in Prague to comment on what were scheduled to be protests by Czechoslovak citizens.

Doubtlessly, for the representatives of these mass media it was a welcomed scene. They could reap what they themselves had helped to sow. The Voice of America and [Radio] Free Europe reserved quite a considerable portion of their broadcasting time for appeals to join in the illegal meeting near the statue of St Wenceslas in memory of the suicide committed by the student Jan Palach 20 years ago. All this at the time when the Vienna follow-up meeting of the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe were opening up new horizons to understanding and cooperation among nations. Instead, they experienced the seeds of hatred and distrust. It was specially very young people who joined the protest actions which according to the Voice of American and Free Europe expressed the general opinion of the Czechoslovak citizens. These young people called for freedom without knowing what it was they exactly wanted. They called for Dubcek without having experience of [word indistinct], which our society suffered thanks to him. It was not difficult for those who arranged the action to take advantage of the inexperience of the young people.

Czechoslovakia is not without problems. They are plenty of them but we are prepared to cope with them within the process of economic restructuring and democratization of our society. There has to be law and order to carry out these plans and hold an open dialogue. We are in favor of pluralism of opinions but within socialism. The events that have taken place at Wenceslas Square hamper the democratization process.

Representatives of the illegal structures in Czechoslovakia have provoked these hostile actions at Wenceslas Square shortly after the establishment of the Czechoslovak public human rights committee, which gives every citizen the opportunity to approach it with complaints and requests.

Why do not those talking about human rights make use of this legal democratic institution? Is this not the truth that these people do not in fact care for democracy and human rights? What exactly do they want? Maybe, to realize their own egoistic wishes or speak up against socialism in the services and pay of various radio stations working for Western governments.

Editorial Assesses Results of CSCE Conference

AU1901122789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Jan 89 p 1

[Editorial: "Path to a Secure Europe"]

[Text] In Vienna on Sunday, 15 January, after negotiations which lasted more than 2 years, delegations from the 35 countries of the Helsinki CSCE reached an agreement on the definitive form of the final document. Locations and dates of 11 follow-up joint meetings, which have quite a realistic chance of fully developing the three "baskets" of the themes of the Helsinki Final Act, were determined. This is a significant shift, especially if we realize that in the almost 12 and ½ years that have passed since the conclusion of the Helsinki conference, 10 similar international meetings have taken place.

The agreement in Vienna is the result of many compromises. The final document did not just consist of positive elements with which the states or groups of states originally came to the negotiations. This also becomes clear when comparing the initiatives that were submitted, especially in the past 3 years, by the Warsaw Pact countries with the mandate of the negotiations on conventional disarmament from the Atlantic to the Urals, which begins in Vienna on 6 March. A forum of all 35 participants in the Helsinki process on confidence- and security-building measures will be held there at the same time.

This is precisely the core from which emanates the further perspectives of the process that has begun in Helsinki. These negotiations will decide the possible advance toward a safer continent, toward the construction of the common European home.

Three years ago, on 15 January 1986, Mikhail Gorbachev proposed a concrete plan to build a gradual path leading to a world without nuclear weapons (and the fact that the final document was adopted in Vienna precisely on the third anniversary of this proposal is certainly

symbolic), in which he concentrated on eliminating the potential for war, which represents the central threat to all mankind. This plan also envisaged a similar course in the sphere of chemical and conventional weapons. Of course, specific objectives have not been determined yet and worked out in detail. Already today in the sphere of chemical weapons there is a good foundation for an agreement on their scrapping, and the negotiations could be successfully concluded in the near future.

The main arguments of the proponents of a nuclear arms buildup have focused on the sphere of conventional weapons and the strength of armed forces. The difference, arising from historical developments, in the arsenals of the Warsaw Pact and NATO served (and still serve) to substantiate the need for nuclear weapons, nuclear containment or nuclear deterence, despite the fact that the U.S. president, the representative of the most influential NATO country, cosigned the principle that nuclear war must never be unleashed and that there can be no winners in it.

The program for conventional disarmament and the reduction of armed forces came into being in the Mikhail Gorbachev speech to the 11th SED Congress in April 1986 and afterward in the documents of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member states in Budapest in June 1986, in Berlin in May 1987, and in the most composite form at the session in Warsaw last July. This program is an organic component of the disarmament process in correlation with its further forms, including the decisive—the nuclear—form.

While respecting the ideas and demands of the NATO countries, the socialist states—in their endeavor to create foundations for a comprehensive policy—have found a precise formulation of their policy in the defensive doctrine, in the principle of the balance of interests and equal security, and in the principle of reasonable (armaments) sufficiency. The concrete proposals concerning the reduction and other changes in the armed forces and the number of weapons, which the Warsaw Pact countries have presented, are oriented toward the two sides maintaining forces and means which are only necessary for defensive and not for offensive operations.

The course of the 15-year talks on reducing the strength of armed forces and armaments in central Europe proved that this framework has become too tight, and that much more radical and broader agreements are necessary.

According to various sources, the Warsaw Pact and NATO currently have some 7.2-7.5 million armed troops in the area between the Atlantic and the Urals. According to the proposals of the socialist countries, the gradual reduction of these forces to the level of reasonable sufficiency presumes eliminating in the first stage the objectively arisen asymmetry (in the development of individual types of weapons). The military potential and the threat arising from its glut must be counted comprehensively: on land, at sea, and in the air.

However, opponents of disarmament, as—by the way—the Vienna meeting also revealed, are one-sidedly creating a myth about the overall superiority of the Warsaw Pact in all types of conventional weapons and troops in Europe. For example, as for the number of tanks, the Warsaw Pact countries admit their superiority, and they are actively progressing toward the gradual elimination of the asymmetry (the USSR pledge voiced by Mikhail Gorbachev from the UN rostrum envisages the unilateral elimination of 10,000 tanks). As for other combat equipment, for example aircraft—particularly offensive Air Force jets or combat helicopters—the NATO countries have a marked superiority, which is accompanied by a stubborn unwillingness to admit the real state of affairs.

Before the mandate for the talks on conventional disarmament from the Atlantic to the Urals was determined, it was necessary to clarify approaches not only toward these issues, but also to an entire complex of problems, starting with the number of participants in the talks (the socialist states were of the opinion that nonaligned and neutral states, too, are entitled to directly participate in the talks) and ending with the formulation of the objectives of the talks.

A number of important thoughts of the common line of the Warsaw Pact states are contained in the text of the mandate for the upcoming talks. It says, for example, that the objective of the talks will be to consolidate stability and security in Europe on the basis of achieving parity in conventional armed forces at a lower level, and the same also applies to conventional armaments and technology. The mandate also discusses the elimination of asymmetries and the possibility of a surprise attack, and about verification measures, including on-site verification.

An important contribution to the initial stage of the talks are the USSR's unilateral disarmament measures. The Warsaw Pact countries, too, are gradually beginning to reduce their military budgets and the numerical strength of their Armed Forces. The Czechoslovak proposal to establish a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the line of contact between the two military and political groupings also has its place in creating a favorable climate for constructive talks.

The approval of the final document in Vienna and the adoption of the mandate for the talks on conventional disarmament constitute a significant qualitative watershed in the attitudes of the participating states. They are the evidence of the growing awareness that the favorable development of the negotiations between the USSR and the United States to date must be enshrined, expanded, and deepened by the share of all allies, all countries of

the continent. Conventional disarmament is the accompanying process of the general trend, and any favorable shift will constitute a step toward more reliable peace and security not only in Europe, but also in the world.

Prague Forum Issue Noted

AU1901121989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Jan 89 pp 1, 7

["Jozef Janto, CTK, zr"-signed report: "Success for the Whole World; Prior to the Culmination of the Vienna Talks"]

[Excerpts] Prague/Vienna—[passage omitted] In Vienna, journalists have acquired further details on the final document of the Vienna CSCE follow-up meeting, which is to be officially signed in a few days. In a balanced and comprehensive manner, the document addresses all aspects of the further development of relations between the signatory countries and their political activity.

In the passage on European security, the participants endorse the principles of a peaceful solution to disputed issues, the nonuse of force, and the rejection of the threat to use force. [passage omitted]

In the section on economic and other types of cooperation, the participating countries undertake to continue the efforts to limit and gradually eliminate obstacles to mutual trade. [passage omitted] A contribution to the deepening of economic cooperation is to be made by a conference that is to be held in Bonn in 1990. [passage omitted]

In the passage on humanitarian questions, the participating countries confirm the determination to respect human rights and basic freedoms, particularly the freedom of conviction, conscience, and religion, which can only be limited by laws. The document confirms the protection of ethnic minorities, the freedom of movement, the ban on the use of torture and on the lowering of human dignity, as well as sexual equality. The participating states are determined to facilitate travel, the reunion of separated families, and contacts between their members.

Cooperation in the sphere of information is to be expanded and the work of journalists facilitated in the interest of better mutual understanding among nations. The establishment of cultural centers and the undisturbed dissemination of works of art and culture will be promoted.

Of the three "baskets"—military security, humanitarian, and economic affairs—the fewest events will be organized in the sphere of the economy, trade, and science and technology. If we exclude the Sofia ecological conference, then there will be, in fact, only a single economic forum, and there will be no event at all in the sphere of science and technology. This has been caused, to a large extent, by the intransigence of the United States, which has thus proven that it is opposed to economic and scientific-technical cooperation between the states of East and West. [Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak on 17 January on pages 1 and 7 carries a slightly different version of Jozef Janto's Vienna dispatch, which inserts the following passage at this point: "This stance of the United States, but also of other Western delegations, has prevented an agreement on holding an economic forum in Prague, as proposed by the CSSR delegation, or the adoption of a compromise whereby the economic forum would be held in Prague and the conference in Bonn (the FRG originally proposed just a conference, which is a far more narrow event, also from the viewpoint of the number of participants)."]

International press agencies and other mass information media report extensively on the results of the conference. The UPI agency reported that, in approving the final document on Sunday [15 January], there were disagreements between Bulgaria and Turkey, for example, because of the Turkish representative's declaration that, in view of alleged "Bulgarian repressive actions against the Turkish minority," it would be hard for Turkey to send a delegation to one of the follow-up meetings that is to be held in Sofia. The Bulgarian representative replied that Bulgaria has no Turkish minority, the UPI agency went on to say.

As Romanian television announced in its evening news program, although Romania adopted the Vienna final document, it did not assume the obligation to fully implement it because it contains a number of formulations with which Romania disagrees. Bucharest television went on to say in its program that in the area of human rights and the freedom of belief, the document contains some decisions that go beyond the framework of the Helsinki Final Act and run counter to the principles of sovereignty of each country's people. "Some formulations adopted in Vienna allow interference in the internal affairs of other countries. The fact that 'brain drain' is permitted and other matters do damage to developing countries, for example." Romanian television further announced that the SR of Romania had adopted a statement in connection with the Vienna final document, in which it explains its position. [passage omitted]

'Underground Bishop' Korec Interviewed

AU2301205689 Vienna KURIER in German 23 Jan 89 p 3

[Text] "Marxism is dead," says Slovak underground bishop Jan Korec, who celebrated his 65 birthday on Sunday [22 January]. In 1951 Korec was secretly ordained a bishop and worked in beer breweries and chemical factories. In 1960 he was sentenced to 12 years in prison; and in 1968—at the time of the Prague Spring—he was released early. Since then the Jesuit bishop, who lives on the third floor of a municipal apartment house in Bratislava-Petrzalka, has written more than 60 theological books and pieces, which have

mostly been printed in Canada or Western Europe and have secretly been brought back to the CSSR. In an interview with the magazine KIRCHE INTERN (February edition), the "underground bishop" reports on the flourishing structure of a basic church, which today consists of a network of groups, prayer rounds, and human rights activists—mostly intellectuals and students—and secretly ordained priests, who are working anonymously in normal jobs.

Investigation Into Citizen's Death Reopened

AU2301181989 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 21 Jan 89 p 2

[Editorial article in "On a Reader's Query" column: "The Causes Are Being Investigated"]

[Text] A reader called our editorial office, asking "when there will be a statement on the death of Engineer Babiak from Michalovce." All Prague is talking about it, he said, and nobody is telling us a thing. Our readers outside Prague also called us.

The reply to our reader's question was published yesterday [20 January], Friday, in VYCHODOSLOVENSKE NOVINY under the headline "The Causes Are Being Investigated." The official report published by this regional newspaper shows that the death of the citizen in question has been abused by so-called Charterists and by U.S. broadcasting stations in an attempt to discredit the members of our national security corps, claiming that his death had been caused by the investigation.

VYCHODOSLOVENSKE NOVINY states that the citizen in question was apprehended on 22 December [1988] in the streets of Michalovce, on suspicion of driving under the influence of alcohol. The driver was to undergo the usual procedure from 1245 to 1400 that day—a blood sample was to be taken at the health center of the District National Health Institute in Michalovce—but he refused to submit to this. Nevertheless, after clinically examining him, the medical doctor on duty stated that he had drunk alcohol. After that he was released by the members of the national security corps. Next day, he and a colleague of his drove in his vehicle to a nearby community, where he suddenly collapsed on the ground while loading a demijohn of wine. Although he was immediately taken to the hospital, he died.

The report then states that in view of the various rumors, it has been decided to thoroughly investigate the causes of his death. A court autopsy has been carried out, more than 40 witnesses were heard, and court experts are hard at work on the reports of medical specialists. The superior agencies have decided to have the investigation supervised by bodies of the military prosecutor's office. VYCHODOSLOVENSKE NOVINY reports that it will announce the results of the investigation.

Press Reports on 12 Jan Government Session

AU1801104889 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Jan 89 p 1

[CTK report: "CSSR Government Session Held"]

[Text] Prague—At its plenary meeting yesterday, the CSSR Government discussed a report of the State Planning Commission on the state, use, and effectiveness of the production potential and of the means spent on public and private consumption in the Czech SR and the Slovak SR.

On the basis of an analysis of the socioeconomic development of the two republics in the 1970-87 period, it noted that the differences in the conditions of economic life arising from the two republics' historical development have been overcome and that decisive progress has been made in closing the gap between individual regions and the life of the population. This moving closer together took place on the basis of planned transfers of material and financial resources, greater investments, and, hence, a greater dynamism of social production in the Slovak SR. As was stressed by the 17th CPCZ Congress, the socioeconomic levels of both our nations have been essentially equalized. The remaining differences find their expression, above all, in the higher age of fixed assets and a greater air pollution in the Czech SR and in the lower share of the Slovak SR in the creation of resources.

In the interest of raising the efficiency of the unified Czechoslovak economy, structural policy must be in harmony not only with the objective needs of the two republics, but also with the level of profitability and the degree of urgency. The equalization of the performance and efficiency levels of individual sectors and branches, and the moving closer together of the ratio between the generation of resources and their use in the two republics cannot be a one-time undertaking but will be implemented over a period of time.

With a view to a consistent application of the principles of the new economic mechanism, economic accountability, and self-financing of enterprises, it will be necessary to make purposeful use of individual statewide and branch-specific normative rates [normativy] to overcome subjective variations in the level of the utilization of the economic potential and to bring the results of enterprises that operate in the same conditions to equal level.

In accordance with the general orientation toward reducing the extent of redistribution processes, the relationship between the state budgets of the federation, the Czech SR, and the Slovak SR will have to be rationalized, the republics' own revenues expanded, and subsidies will have to be tied to specific purposes on a larger scale. The distribution and use of financial resources will be governed by longer-term unified normative relations

reinforcing the equilibrium of the Czechoslovak economy and providing incentives for a more efficient generation of financial resources and their economical use. Financial plans will provide for a faster pace in bringing the efficiency levels in enterprises administered by the Federal Government, the Czech SR Government, and the Slovak SR Government closer together.

Following a thorough discussion, the Federal Government expressed the view that there are still many untapped resources and potentials in the intensification of the unified Czechoslovak economy, the mobilization of which can speed up the necessary structural changes, raise the performance of the national economy, and contribute to the growth of the living standards and social guarantees of the population of the whole state.

The government decided that the conclusions concerning the reinforcement of the unified Czechoslovak economy by means of overcoming unwarranted differences in the creation and use of the national income will be applied in the drafting of the state plan and the state budget for 1990 and in preparing the directive and the draft for the Ninth 5-Year Plan.

The existing method of providing global appropriations to offset the losses of housing economy organizations without fixing any objective criteria does not make it possible to compare the efficiency of their operations and to exert effective pressure on the more economical use of social resources. This is why the CSSR Government approved new regulations for the management of national committee-administered housing economy enterprises, which will make it possible to transform housing organizations into state enterprises and establish economic conditions comparable with those of other state enterprises. This measure will not affect the rents and water and heat rates paid by the citizens.

The Government discussed and approved the principles of the course to be pursued by the CSSR's standing representative at the 130th session of the CEMA Executive Council in Moscow in the second half of January.

The CSSR People's Control Committee submitted to the Federal Government the results of an inquiry into the efficiency of work and the specific results of 14 research institutes. The inquiry ascertained very serious shortcomings in the work of these institutes, starting with the low technical and economic standard of the tasks being tackled and the small economic contribution of implemented projects and ending with an unsuitable cadre structure in the institutes and egalitarianism in paying wages and special compensations. Not a single one of the institutes surveyed has embodied in its development concept the aim to solve tasks whose parameters correspond to the world level.

The government therefore decided that, in connection with the implementation of the second stage of restructuring the organizational structures of the production-technical, scientific-research, and distribution base, only those research institutes be established as state enterprises whose results demonstrably contribute to the growth of the technological-economic level of production and products. It will be proposed that poorly performing research institutes either be abolished or that their operations be reoriented so as to correspond to the needs of their partners.

After discussing the State Planning Commission's report on the realization of ecological investment projects in the Eighth 5-Year Plan from the viewpoint of the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress, the government voiced dissatisfaction with investors, designers, and suppliers for continuing shortcomings in the preparation and realization of ecological projects. It charged investors and suppliers with renegotiating the timetables of, and the supplier-user relations at, projects within the ecological program, with a view to increasing the already agreed volumes of work and deliveries at these projects by 10 percent before the end of this year. The same task will apply to next year. In retrospect, it is possible to include in the plan for this year all comprehensively prepared ecological projects that are ensured in terms of deliveries and financing. At the same time, this year and next year these projects will not be affected by measures limiting capital construction.

Furthermore, the government discussed the draft of an agreement between the CSSR Government and the Government of the Polish People's Republic on cooperation in the prevention of deeds that unlawfully interfere with the activity of civil aviation; a report on the results of the ninth session of the Czechoslovak-Vietnamese Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation, a report on the results of the 16th session of the Czechoslovak-Mongolian Intergovernmental Commission for Economic and Scientific-Technical Cooperation; a proposal for the issuance of commemorative coins in the years 1991-95; and a proposal for the construction of a new evaporating plant in the South Bohemian Paper Mill at Vetrni. The CSSR Government approved all these reports and proposals.

The government welcomed the establishment of the Committee of the Czechoslovak Public for Human Rights and Humanitarian Cooperation with Professor Zdenek Dienstbier at its head. It charged all its members with establishing cooperation with the committee and with creating the necessary conditions for its activity.

In connection with the amendment to the Labor Code and in the interest of an effective use of working hours, the government drew the attention of the heads of organizations to the inadmissibility of holding meetings of organizations associated in the National Front during

working hours. It stressed their personal responsibility for the observance of this principle, the violation of which is the target of citizens' justified criticism.

[Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech on 13 January on page 2, under the heading "On the Use of Working Hours," carries a 700-word CTK interview with Miloslav Boda, CSSR minister of labor and social affairs. The interview, the place and date of which are not given, deals with the last item on the agenda of the 12 January session of the Federal Government. In the interview Boda reviews the pertinent provisions of the labor code, which prohibit the use of working hours for meetings of social organizations at the workplace, and notes that only meetings of enterprise self-management bodies can, "in justified cases," be exempted from this rule. Boda points out that "activities that are not directly connected with the fulfillment of work tasks" account for the loss of 125 million hours a year in the Czechoslovak industry alone and that the recent extension of the paid lunch break from 15 to 30 minutes has cut the annual working time by an additional 3 percent. Boda says that it was with a view to minimizing the loss of working hours that the government has issued its reminder of the legal situation in this area]

'Heredity' in Cadre Appointments Criticized

AU1801161189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Jan 89 p 3

[Vlastimil Bradac commentary: "On 'Cadre Heredity'"]

[Excerpts] While discussing the issue of education, a recent session of the CPCZ Central Committee Youth Work Commission devoted much time to people who work with Socialist Youth Union [SSM] organizations and lead pioneer groups or various hobby courses, be it by virtue of their function or during their off hours. [passage omitted]

At that session it was also said, literally, that we sometimes evaluate children according to their parents, and examples of this were given. At secondary schools, teachers use the very first hour of the first class to recommend who should be the chairman of the SSM organization. What other basis can they use for such a recommendation but the respective student's "personal file" or knowledge about his parents? At many a place, SSM committees at universities are formed in the same way, in the first days of studies. What is the point of putting such candidates to the vote when, at the time of voting, no one in fact knows them? Examples could also be found in the practices of village primary schools where, from their early childhood, children of local functionaries tend to be—automatically, as it were, but, as I would rather say, thoughtlessly—recommended to be chairmen of pioneer groups.

However, even being the chairman of a pioneer group or a member of an SSM committee are functions that should be rooted in the elected person's natural authority and in the trust of those who do the voting. Such things can be discerned only after some time, when the students of the class get to know one another, when the class collective takes shape, and its individual members reveal themselves. Such a natural selection of officeholders surely represents a much more solid foundation for the work of an SSM committee, for instance. Do you not think so?

In short, even outstanding and dedicated parents can sometimes have children who have gone astray. That, however, is also true the other way around. This is why we should not rely on "cadre heredity" but, from early childhood, give a real chance to everyone who is apt and to seek out and train such people. [passage omitted]

Exiled Economist Sik on CSSR Restructuring

AU1601153989 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 16 Jan 89 p 2

[Interview with Prof Ota Sik, 69, exiled CSSR economist, by Ulrich Glauber in St Gallen, Switzerland: "Economic Reformer Sik: There Is No Way Back From Restructuring"; date not given]

[Text] FR: Professor Sik, are there parallels between your efforts during the "Prague Spring" and perestroyka in the Soviet Union?

Sik: The basic direction is the same. However, the CSSR reform of the 1960's stressed the role of the market more clearly than this is being done in the USSR.

FR: Do you consider perestroyka not sufficiently consistent as regards the establishment of a market?

Sik: Exactly. I see only very vague statements in this direction at the present. Nothing specific is being said about the necessity of market prices, and competition is not being promoted purposefully. This bumps into the limits of Marxist-Leninist ideology, because this ideology—including Lenin—was convinced that a socialist system cannot need a market mechanism; this is something capitalist. Now experience has forced us to give up the antiquated concept of socialism. The CSSR development during the "Prague Spring" was simply more consistent in this respect.

FR: You are counting on a model which envisages "macroplanning" and an exchange via the free market. Is this still socialism?

Sik: There are differences to the Western capitalist system. These include the fact that large enterprises remain collective property. However, they should not be the property of the state but rather the property of the employees. Another difference is the introduction of self-administration in all enterprises. There, however, private entrepreneurial initiative is indispensable. A third difference is global macroplanning, which is to determine in particular the increase in wages, profits,

and investment. Macroplanning is to prevent crises and mass unemployment. Today it has been realized in all reform movements that one needs something like a capital market, that private enterprises have to be established, and that larger enterprises should perhaps be turned into stock corporations, in which the employees hold the majority of the capital, but where foreign capital is also accepted. The Hungarians are already trying in some cases to even sell shares on the Western markets.

FR: And what should be done with the profits, in your opinion?

Sik: In some enterprises different degrees of profit-sharing would develop in line with different efficiency. The global distribution of the popular income to wages and profits would have to be regulated according to macroeconomic principles, but the different profit-sharing—depending on the efficiency of the individual enterprise—would be the reward of the employees' collectives for their market activities.

FR: What are the points of friction between your theory and the reform efforts in some socialist countries?

Sik: So far the reforms have not been working because there is still too little competition. In Yugoslavia, for instance, there are monopoly enterprises in some republics, and the governments of these republics brake the flow of goods to other republics. Because of this protectionism, there is no compulsion for technical and economic progress. In Hungary and China there is also too little competition, even though the Chinese are advancing in this respect, because they are permitting much private entrepreneurial activity.

FR: How do you assess the chances of Gorbachev's perestroyka if the lack of consumer goods in the USSR is not eliminated soon?

Sik: The terrible thing is that in a transitional period there may even be a deterioration of the situation. New forms of management may take years to start functioning properly. The ministries are frequently beginning to administer the economy in the old ways again because they are afraid of shortages. There are also necessarily price increases because the old prices were largely subsidized by the state. The only alternative is higher foreign debt. But countries such as Poland and Yugoslavia which buy Western technology with large foreign loans cannot quickly compete on the world market with their products. The result is enormous debt problems.

FR: What does this mean for the CSSR? Will the rulers in Prague wait until the reforms have exhausted themselves?

Sik: In the CSSR there are still men in power who are most profoundly antireformist and reactionary. They are terribly afraid of a revival of the reform ideas of the 1960's. Toward the outside they support economic reforms, but not, however, political liberalization in the spirit of glasnost. In reality they are, however, trying to postpone all innovations. They have already eliminated Lubomir Strougal as the head of government, for he tried to push ahead with the reforms and because he recognized the disastrous economic situation in the CSSR.

FR: Can the CSSR leadership really duck and wait considering the economic data?

Sik: I still think that they believe we are still better off than the others. It is like in the GDR. Both countries were capitalistically highly developed and had an enormous lead over Poland and the USSR, for instance. The CSSR and the GDR are still slightly ahead. The rulers in Prague hope to be able to maintain the lead and expect that the reforms in the USSR will not be effective. I would say that they expect Gorbachev to be overthrown.

FR: But according to your analysis of the difficulties of socialist economic reform, Gorbachev's chances are not good, indeed.

Sik: There is no way back. There can only be attempts by the reactionary old Stalinists to continue the economic reform but to stop the political reform. This is one of the greatest delusions. An economic reform needs democratization at the political level, for it needs discussions, a capability for criticism, and, above all, a democratic selection of leading positions.

FR: Unlike in Poland, the opposition in the CSSR seems to be less rooted in the broad masses, but to be supported by a small number of intellectuals.

Sik: The revolutionary national awareness has a totally different history in Poland. It is supported by the incredibly strong church. However, in the CSSR there is a totally different tradition; it is much more difficult to establish a broad mass movement. However, it potentially exists. Already at the slightest occasion, when people gather in larger groups, an enormously strong oppositional emotion develops. This is what the Prague rulers fear on the anniversary of the 16 January 1969 self-immolation of the student Jan Palach as a protest against the occupation (of the CSSR—the editors). Memories of Palach still arouse emotions among the young generation, who did not experience the occupation in 1968.

Consumer Electronics Shareholding Company Founded

AU1901111789 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 17 Jan 89 p 2

["fm"-signed report: "Electronics From Tesla"]

[Summary] Bratislava (our correspondent)— By pooling capital to the tune of Kcs332 million, the Tesla Bratislava, Tesla Orava, Tesla Prelouc, and Tesla Litovel branches of the Tesla enterprise have founded a shareholding company—Tesla Consumer Electronics.

The objective of this "voluntary" venture is to manufacture consumer electronics goods in large amounts and thus gradually reduce their "still fairly high prices."

The company will stop manufacturing radio sets (with the exception of the "Pluto" model), black-and-white television sets, and conventional record players. It plans to manufacturing car radios, color television sets—also in cooperation with the USSR, from Rubin—compact-disk players and record players designed by the Dutch "International Design" company, and personal computers.

Problems With Machinery Delivered to SRV Noted

AU1801191589 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Jan 89 p 6

[Pavel Kryl dispatch from Hanoi: "Questions Involved in Cooperation; Visit to Hanoi's First Engineering Plant"

[Excerpts] The vast hall of the First Engineering Plant in Hanoi, almost 100-meters long, contains something unique—a group of three Czechoslovak heavy machines for precision machining. Experts will want to know that they are the SKJ 32-64 vertical turret lathe, the SUT-160 lathe, and the W-250 horizontal drilling machine, worth more than R3 million and delivered to the SRV within the framework of a CSSR loan. They are unique in the countries of the former Indochina, and the Hanoi plant is justly proud of them. However, there is a snag—although the last crate with the equipment reached Haiphong port in November 1986, the precision-machining center has not yet begun operations up to today.

Currently, only one of the three machines is working: the vertical turret lathe, which was fully assembled at the beginning of last year. But even during the short time of its operation it has shown what the precision-machining center could mean for the Vietnamese economy. [passage omitted]

Deplorably, the vertical turret lathe is working sporadically, because **no production program has been set up for the lathe—or, in fact, for the entire precision-machining center—to this very day.** Moreover, there are difficulties with the electronic system, for our integrated circuits are coping very badly with the difficult local climate. For instance, three out of the four digital displays of the vertical turret lathe are not functioning. The director says that the plant would be prepared to tackle the repairs except that it has no spare parts.

Although the SUT-160 lathe has also been assembled, the Vietnamese side did not accept delivery because of a missing measuring mandrel. Machining operations are limited because of electronic breakdowns, and the machine is leaking oil.

The main assembly of the W-250 horizontal drilling machine has not even started. The situation was discussed in Hanoi toward the end of July, at a joint meeting of officials from the CSSR representative office, the First Engineering Plant, and the SRV Ministry of Engineering. According to information on their deliberations, prior to their delivery to the SRV, the machines had been stored for quite some time in Gdynia port; their transport was provided by the Vietnamese side, and later they stood unsheltered on the grounds of the Hanoi engineering plant for about 9 months. Moreover, for various reasons, the main assembly carried out by our specialists took an inappropriately long time, after which the Vietnamese side failed to keep the machines in the condition they held at the time of their assembly. The CSSR experts also pointed out certain other circumstances which could adversely affect the center's operations. For instance, the hall crane provided by the Vietnamese side is not equipped with a microlift; and when handling loads, it can damage the machine's sensitive equipment. The Vietnamese partner must also order spare parts in the sets recommended by the producer, instead of ordering only individual parts, according to his own considerations and momentary financial situation.

The deliberations also showed that it is essential to train Vietnamese personnel, to work out model technological procedures, and to provide the machining center with a corresponding production program, to enable it to operate without problems and at top capacity. [passage omitted]

I believe that in the present instance, **the primary cause of all the difficulties was our insufficiently thought-out and worked-out loan policy, which did not take local conditions into account. To grant a loan for computer-controlled machine tools to a developing state with an annual per-capita industrial production 50 times lower than that of the European socialist countries, and at the same time to fail to provide everything for their effective utilization, i.e. training cadres, auxiliary equipment, spare parts, and even a production program, means not only a loss of money, but also of confidence in our possibilities.** [passage omitted]

The problems with our machines in Hanoi confirm that it is essential to hold a protective hand over such projects from start to finish, and that it is not enough "merely" to grant loans. [passage omitted]

Permanent Diplomatic Mission to EEC Set

AU1701173189 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 14 Jan 89 p 6

[Ladislav Alster report: "The Function of Our Czechoslovak Mission in Brussels; Opening Our Diplomatic Representation to the EEC"]

[Excerpts] Prague—Within the framework of the recently signed CSSR-EEC trade agreement on industrial products, and following up on the establishment of

CSSR-EEC diplomatic relations, a permanent Czechoslovak diplomatic mission attached to the European Communities will be set up in Brussels and will begin operations on 1 February.

Our ambassador to Belgium will head the mission, the main task of which will be to coordinate CSSR trade policy both toward the European Communities as a whole, and toward individual EEC countries. This was stated by Comrade Milan Cernohuby, who will be working in our Brussels mission as commercial counselor. In an interview with RUDE PRAVO, he stressed that our trade policy will primarily take into account the shaping of a uniform market within the EEC, which is to take final shape by 31 December 1992.

The mission will primarily strive to enable the CSSR to attain the position of an active participant in the European division of labor, and to enable the CSSR economy to react flexibly to the changing economic conditions in the West European region—i.e. not only in the EEC, but also in EFTA countries, Comrade Cernohuby stressed. [passage omitted]

The future goal of our trade policy will be to undertake steps to prepare a long-term and comprehensive CSSR-EEC agreement on trade and on economic and industrial cooperation. This means an agreement that would be valid for at least 10 years and which would cover, as far as possible, all spheres of our economic cooperation with the EEC. [passage omitted]

It is only natural that the Brussels mission will also have a number of operational tasks. For instance, it will observe and evaluate trends in foreign trade, and it will supply the CSSR with information and suggestions.

GDR To Attend Prague Ecological Meeting

AU1801095689 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Jan 89 p 1

[CTK report: "GDR Accepted the Czechoslovak Premier's Invitation"]

[Text] Prague—Pavel Sadovsky, first CSSR deputy minister of foreign affairs, received Helmut Ziebart, GDR ambassador to the CSSR, in Prague on Thursday [12 January]. On instructions from Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, the ambassador informed him that the GDR accepts the invitation issued by Ladislav Adamec, CSSR premier, to attend a meeting of premiers of the countries bordering the CSSR for the purpose of discussing ecological issues. This meeting is being prepared for the beginning of March 1989.

Officials Attend Cuban National Day Fete

LD1701211489 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Mario Rodriguez Martinez, Cuban ambassador to the CSSR, gave a reception in Prague today on the occasion of his country's national day—the 30th anniversary of the triumph of the Cuban revolution. Those congratulating him were Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee; Jan Fojtik, Jozef Lenart, and Frantisek Pitra, CPCZ Central Committee Presidium members; Frantisek Hanus, secretary of the party's Central Committee; and Josef Mevald, Vasil Mohorita, and Rudolf Rohlicek, members of the CPCZ Central Committee Secretariat. Also taking part in the reception were CPCZ Central Committee department heads, deputy chairmen of the CSSR Federal Assembly and the CSSR Government, ministers of the federal government, and other representatives of our political and public life. Members of the Prague diplomatic corps were also present.

Reportage on Visit by Swedish Prime Minister

Friendship Society Letters

AU1901180589 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Jan 89 p 1

[Jochen Preussler report: "Before the Swedish Prime Minister's Visit to the GDR; Important for the Safeguarding Peace in Europe; Letters From Sweden-GDR Friendship Society to Erich Honecker and Ingvar Carlsson"]

[Text] Stockholm—The Sweden-GDR Friendship Society, whose task for more than 30 years has been to work for extended and deepened relations between Sweden and the GDR in the interest of European peace, welcomes with satisfaction Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson's official visit to the GDR, a visit which follows state leader Erich Honecker's visit to Sweden.

This is stated by the Swedish friendship society in letters to the same effect to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, and Ingvar Carlsson, prime minister of the Kingdom of Sweden.

In the letters, signed by Professor Stellan Arvidson, honorary chairman of the society, and Chairman Lars Carlzon, a retired bishop, hope is expressed that these visits will be of great importance for the development of cooperation between two states with different social systems and for securing peace in Europe.

"We state with great satisfaction," the letters continue, "that you, Mr Honecker, made the Palme Commission's idea of a nuclear-free corridor in central Europe very topical at the international conference in Berlin in June 1988. We have also noted with satisfaction that, in its policy statement in autumn 1988, the Swedish Government expressed its readiness to work for the establishment of such a corridor. We proceed on the assumption that this important task is on the agenda of the forthcoming meeting between the two heads of state, just like other important questions of world peace."

In the letters it is pointed out that, in its daily work, the Sweden-GDR Friendship Society will be active in developing relations between the two peoples. For example, it is in favor of comprehensive cooperation between municipalities, organizations, enterprises, and persons in all fields of life, in order to achieve greater mutual understanding between the two peoples and create prerequisites for economic, social, cultural, and personal cooperation. The society is convinced that the difficulties that still exist in the fields mentioned will be dealt with in Berlin.

In the letters it is also pointed out that many people in Sweden still know little about the GDR and prejudices continue to exist. "Although the society, whose members are to be found in all political parties, is striving for the improvement of these things, it is of the opinion that measures are necessary at the top level, in order to promote information, not least as regards mass media reporting."

In conclusion, the Sweden-GDR Friendship Society underlines once again the great importance of the forthcoming meeting and expresses the wish that "both leading officials will be successful in their efforts to establish closer ties between their countries."

Swedish Trade Committee Message

AU1901181189 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Jan 89 p 1

[Text] Stockholm (ND report)—In the opinion of Gunnar B. Janson, chairman of the Committee for the Promotion of Trade Between Sweden and the GDR, Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson's forthcoming visit to the GDR will deepen the good relations between the two countries. In a letter to Erich Honecker, chairman of the GDR State Council, Janson writes on behalf of the committee members: "We gladly recall your visit to Sweden in June 1986. We are able to state that your talks and meetings have given an important impetus to the cooperation between our countries, not least to the development of trade relations. We are sure that Mr Carlsson's visit to the GDR will be an important landmark in the development of relations between our countries."

The chairman pointed out that some of the Swedish firms that belong to the committee have cooperated with the GDR for 40 years.

"We saw how the GDR 'rose from ruins' and are witnessing the GDR's stable and dynamic development," the letter continues. Business relations between Swedish enterprises and GDR combines and foreign trade enterprises are stable, reliable, and future-oriented. "In this spirit, we will continue to contribute to extending and strengthening the good relations by intensifying our trade relations," Janson underlines.

"We agree with you," it is finally stressed, "that at present there is nothing more important than preserving peace, and we believe that trade between the countries plays an important role."

Carlsson Begins State Visit

LD2201162989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1502 GMT 22 Jan 89

[Excerpts] Dresden (ADN)—The state visit by Ingvar Carlsson, prime minister of the Kingdom of Sweden, to the GDR begins on Monday with the official welcome by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, in Berlin. [passage omitted]

The Swedish prime minister, who is accepting an invitation from Erich Honecker, acquainted himself with the sights of Dresden over the weekend and met with representatives of the Swedish Nordic construction company. [passage omitted]

On Sunday, the guests visited the world-famous art and cultural treasures of the Dresden State Collections. [passage omitted]

In honor of the Swedish prime minister and his wife, Karl-Walter Richter, first deputy chairman of the bezirk [area] council, gave a banquet in the Bellevue hotel. Taking part were members of the delegation of the head of government: GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer; Hans Modrow, first secretary of the SED Bezirk Executive for Dresden; Mayor Wolfgang Berghofer; and representatives of cultural and artistic sites in Dresden.

After a welcome from the host, Ingvar Carlsson expressed thanks for the friendly welcome to the Elbe city, whose history and construction he lauded along with the manner in which the cultural heritage was looked after in the museums. He made an entry in the city's Golden Book of Honor. During a subsequent visit to the porcelain collection in the Zwinger in Dresden, Ingvar Carlsson showed interest in its contacts with the Museum Kulturen Lund in Stockholm. Then he met construction workers from the Nordic Construction Company who are building the Dresdner Hof hotel with specialists from the GDR and other countries. It will open in February, 1990 and have approximately 1,000 beds. The guest arrived in Leipzig on Saturday and was received there by GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer.

Honecker Receives Carlsson

LD2301102289 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1000 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, officially welcomed the Swedish prime minister this morning at the start of his official state visit to the GDR. Erich Honecker cordially welcomed Ingvar Carlsson outside the official seat of the Council of State in Berlin. Also present were other members of the GDR party and state leadership. After the ceremony, the two officials met for a conversation, after which the official talks began.

Honecker-Carlsson Talks

LD2301143289 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1235 GMT 23 Jan 89

["Exemplary GDR-Swedish Relations in the Spirit of the Helsinki Final Act—Official Talks Between Erich Honecker and Ingvar Carlsson"—ADN headline]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, and Ingvar Carlsson, prime minister of the Kingdom of Sweden, conducted official talks at the official seat of the Council of State on Monday morning. Current bilateral and international issues were the subject of the extensive exchange of views which was attended by dignitaries of the two countries.

Erich Honecker and Ingvar Carlsson expressed their satisfaction that as a result of their meeting in 1986 mutual understanding, trust, and a climate of goodneighborliness has grown in relations between the GDR and the Kingdom of Sweden. Relations are characterized by stability, dynamism, greater diversity and respect for mutual interests. The lively political dialogue as well as the further shaping of contractual relations, the positive development of trade and economic relations and the deepening of cultural and scientific exchanges testify to their further positive development. It is surely not an exaggeration, Erich Honecker said, to speak of the exemplary character of these relations in the spirit of the Helsinki Final Act and a peaceful European house.

The two sides affirmed their resolve to develop the flourishing cooperation between the GDR and Sweden for mutual benefit and in the interest of safeguarding and preserving peace, and to continue to develop the political dialogue. The two statesmen attached great importance to the further development of commercial and economic relations. Good preconditions exist for this through state treaties and long-term agreements between combines and industrial establishments of GDR and Swedish firms.

There is also scope to deepen the cultural and scientific exchanges and thus, at the same time, make an important contribution to all-European cultural cooperation. The intention was affirmed to step up cooperation in the foreign trade, higher education, transport, agriculture, the construction industry, public health, environmental protection, and in other areas.

The high degree of agreement between the GDR and Sweden regarding mankind's vital question, namely to avert a nuclear inferno, disarmament and detente, was assessed in the talks as an active element in international relations and in European cooperation. Erich Honecker and Ingvar Carlsson welcomed the positive changes achieved in the world in 1988, in which both states and peoples actively participated. The signs at present are favorable, it was emphasized, for further reviving the East-West dialogue on the threshold of the final decade of this century and to fill it with new content. It is important that the favorable preconditions for further progress in the area of disarmament and detente be properly used.

Erich Honecker and Ingvar Carlsson advocated that after the destruction of Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles that has now begun, further far-reaching agreements in the nuclear and conventional areas be achieved. In this connection they praised the initiatives on disarmament, international security, and an improvement in the international situation submitted by Mikhail Gorbachev at the 43d UN General Assembly, which opened up

new possibilities for progress concerning disarmament. The chairman of the GDR Council of State briefed the Swedish prime minister on intended measures by the German Democratic Republic in the area of reducing conventional armed forces and weapons.

The two officials called for the continuation and deepening of the CSCE process. They welcomed the Vienna meeting's conclusion with the acceptance of a balanced document. The launching of the negotiation process on conventional disarmament and the continuation of the conference on confidence and security-building measures, begun in Stockholm, it was underlined, are the most important results of the successfully concluded meeting. Erich Honecker expressed the GDR's great appreciation of the constructive work by Sweden and other neutral and nonaligned states in Vienna.

The general secretary emphasized that the GDR, on the dividing line of Warsaw Pact and NATO, is emphatically in favor of tactical nuclear weapons in Europe being included in the disarmament process. This view was shared by his Swedish guest.

The two sides concurred in noting that regional initiatives could be suitable for smoothing the path toward confidence and security and for promoting global solutions. Proceeding from this, Erich Honecker once again underlined the GDR's support for a nuclear-free zone in northern Europe, the Balkans, and in other regions of the world, and for the Swedish proposal to create in central Europe a corridor free of theater nuclear forces. In this connection he also referred to the joint SED and SPD proposal of July 1988 for a zone of confidence and security in central Europe.

Erich Honecker and Ingvar Carlsson noted a positive trend in a peaceful solution of international areas of conflict. They expressed their conviction that with the activation of its peace-promoting role new opportunities are opening up for the United Nations to contribute to solving global issues. The United Nations is assured of full support. The international recognition which, through the awarding of the Nobel Peace Prize to the UN armed forces, is shared by the Swedish UN units, Erich Honecker emphasized, is welcomed in the GDR. Likewise, Ingvar Carlsson's personal contribution in the six-state-initiative and to Sweden's contribution to solving complex international issues are appreciated in the GDR.

In conclusion, the two statesmen expressed their satisfaction that their talks had opened up new opportunities for the two countries' cooperation in the bilateral and international fields.

The talks, which took place in a trusting and constructive atmosphere, were attended, on behalf of the GDR, by: Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer; Frank-Joachim Herrmann, state secretary, head of the chancellery of the Council of State chairman; Deputy Foreign Minister Ernst Krabatsch; Erich Wetzl, GDR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Kingdom of Sweden; Wolfgang Meyer, ambassador, head of the main press section at the Foreign Ministry; Manfred Niklas, ambassador, head of the foreign minister's bureau; and Erich Albrecht, acting head of the Northern Europe-/Great Britain Department at the Foreign Ministry.

Taking part for the Kingdom of Sweden were: Pierre Schori, state secretary at the Foreign Ministry; Henrik Liljegren, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Kingdom of Sweden to the GDR; Hans Dahlgren, ambassador, foreign affairs adviser to the prime minister; Mans Loennroth, special adviser at the chancellery of the prime minister; Peter Tejler, senior executive officer at the Foreign Ministry; Marita Ulvskog, press and public relations officer at the chancellory of the prime minister; and Inger Bergstroem, personal assistant to the prime minister.

Carlsson Comments on Talks

LD2301185989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1606 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—My 2-hour-long intensive talks with Erich Honecker, chairman of the Council of State, this morning, were of a positive nature and were linked to the dialogue that has developed so successfully since the 1984 visit of Olof Palme to the GDR, and the GDR head of state's 1986 visit to Sweden. Ingvar Carlsson, prime minister of the Kingdom of Sweden, said this today at an international news conference held in the residence of the Swedish ambassador in Berlin.

The exchange of views took place in a good atmosphere and bilateral and international problems were discussed. Ingvar Carlsson said that these included common views in the area of disarmament and detente. Concerning this question in particular there was complete agreement in the discussion. "We were both optimistic," Carlsson said.

The Swedish head of government noted with satisfaction that trade between the two countries has also developed successfully. In the previous year, Sweden raised its exports to the GDR, and today his country is the third largest trading partner of the GDR in Western Europe. Also touched on in the discussion were questions of energy economy and environmental protection. They intend to work even closer together in these areas. Concrete projects were discussed, and Sweden has already presented appropriate offers, for example, on effective use of energy and on lowering sulphur dioxide emissions in the Boxberg large-scale power station.

Replying to journalists' questions, Ingvar Carlsson said that it is a reality that differing social orders exist in Sweden and in the GDR. This however, does not in any way prevent both states from holding a dialogue and an exchange of experiences. The Swedish prime minister said that in this constructive spirit he had also spoken

with Erich Honecker on humanitarian questions, and had conveyed some wishes concerning this. He is very happy with the answers given by Erich Honecker in this connection.

Honecker on Troop Withdrawal

LD2301162489 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1446 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] [No dateline as received] On the occasion of the official dinner given on Monday [23 January] in honor of Ingvar Carlsson, prime minister of the Republic of Sweden, Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, gave the following toast:

Allow me, Mr Prime Minister, once again, to cordially welcome you and your esteemed spouse as well as your entourage to the GDR. It is a great pleasure for me that, after the meeting with the unforgotten Olof Palme 5 years ago and our meeting in Stockholm in 1986, we can continue our dialogue concerning questions affecting people today. This dialogue is based on goodneighborliness; it is of a confidence-building nature.

Since we last spoke, there have been important changes in the international arena. Securing peace, continuing the process of disarmament, and replacing confrontation with cooperation have moved more than ever into the focus of world interest.

We note with satisfaction the change introduced for improving international relations. Our two countries and peoples have made active contributions in this regard. Together with all forces of reason and realism, we are now working to push through detente, peace, and disarmament everywhere in the world and to finally make it irreversible.

In line with agreements made, the destruction of Soviet and U.S. medium-range missiles has begun as a significant first step toward real nuclear disarmament. It has been confirmed: where there is a will there is a way. Now it is important to make further strides with just as much constructive will. Here I am thinking of the nuclear area, but also of chemical weapons and conventional disarmament. The objective should be to exclude for all time a return to a policy of confrontation and rearmament.

The German Democratic Republic makes a comprehensive contribution to the implementation of the joint peace strategy of the Warsaw Pact member states. We completely support the new peace initiatives of the Soviet Union to improve the international situation which were announced by Mikhail Gorbachev, the USSR's highest representative, to the 43d UN General Assembly in New York.

The unilateral withdrawal of Soviet Armed Forces from GDR territory planned in this connection is to take place in close consultation between our governments. In this regard, I can inform you that concerning the planned withdrawal of Soviet troops from the GDR the following is foreseen.

Before the end of 1989: The 25th Tank Division, The 32d Tank Division, two independent tank training regiments, and eight independent battalions are to be withdrawn.

In 1990: The 7th Tank Division, the 12th Tank Division, the Air Assault Brigade, three training regiments, including a tank training regiment, and three independent battalions are to be withdrawn.

The mechanized infantry and tank divisions of the Soviet Army remaining on our territory will, during these 2 years, be given a still more marked defensive character.

Guided by the endeavor to make a further constructive contribution to the disarmament process, which should be continued without pause, and to show goodwill and the preparedness to reduce the armed forces and conventional armaments through deeds, and in the hope of giving other European states food for thought, the GDR National Defense Council has decided:

1. The National People's Army of the GDR will, unilaterally and independent of negotiations, be reduced by 10,000 men.

2. Linked to this major reduction in personnel strength of the National People's Army are
—the disbandment of 6 tank regiments,
—the reduction of 600 tanks which will be converted for industrial purposes or scrapped,
—the disbandment of an air squadron, and
—the decommissioning of 50 fighter aircraft.

3. At the same time, national defense expenditures will be reduced by 10 percent.

4. These reduction measures are to be concluded by the end of 1990 and the GDR National People's Army will be restructured in such a way that it will have a still more strictly defensive character.

In accordance with its historic responsibility and its humanistic task, our socialist state acts according to the maxim that everything must be done to ensure that never again will war emanate from German soil, but only peace. We view this task as one that goes beyond the vital interest of our own people and extends into a far-reaching dimension. Peace and security are necesary today for the existence of all mankind. In view of the

danger of a nuclear inferno and after the devastations brought on by two world wars in our century, this recognition is gaining more and more ground, especially in Europe.

The CSCE process is an expression of this. This successful conclusion of the Vienna follow-up meeting has created favorable preconditons for its deepening in all spheres of the Helsinki Final Act. Now the objective is to implement what has been agreed upon in the spirit of the strengthening of stability of the CSCE process, and the strengthening of peaceful and mutually advantageous cooperation. We regard it as particularly important that the path be clear for a negotiating forum of 23 states, which will seek agreements on the reduciton of conventional armed forces and armaments. Confidence- and security-building measures will be further developed.

When one speaks about promoting the disarmament process, then a number of problems must be mentioned that require a priority solution. I refer to the halving of the strategic nuclear weapon potentials of the USSR and the United States while adhering strictly to the ABM Treaty, the gradual stop to all nuclear weapons tests, the ban and destruction of all chemical weapons, the drastic reduction of armed forces and conventional armaments from the Atlantic to the Urals.

We assess the call by nearly all the participants in the Paris conference for the immediate conclusion of a convention on the comprehensive ban of chemical weapons as a demand to at last get down to business in Geneva. As a state at the dividing line between the two most powerful military organizations, the GDR emphatically advocates that the tactical nuclear weapons on European soil be included in the disarmament process and their modernization be prevented. All initiatives calculated to reduce military confrontation and to consolidate stability and confidence will have our support. As is known we have presented our own proposals to this end.

We are fully convinced that nuclear as well as chemical weapon-free zones and corridors could represent solid first steps on the path toward global solutions. Therefore, we support the creation of nuclear-weapon-free zones in northern Europe, in the Balkans, and in other regions. We have already agreed to the Swedish proposal to create a corridor in central Europe free of theater nuclear forces.

We appreciate those impulses emanating from the neutral and nonaligned states and their movement. Here I would like to pay tribute to your personal commitment in the six-state-initiative, Mr Prime Minister. I also affirm our sympathy for the active work of Swedish diplomacy in solving complicated international issues.

The fact that the world can view the future full of hope, in spite of continuing worries, is thanks also to the positive tendency of a peaceful solution in international centers of conflict. Thus the growing role of the United Nations, which also includes the active participation of Sweden in peace-preserving measures in the world organization, become apparent. Congratulations on the bestowal of the Nobel Peace Prize to the UN peace-keeping forces are, quite rightly, also addressed to your country.

During today's talks we were pleased to establish complete agreement in the assessment of the relations between our states, and could draw a good balance. Mutual interest is growing and is stimulting a manifold exchange in all areas.

Political dialogue is bearing fruit. In this, the high degree of agreement on the vital questions facing mankind, on the averting of a nuclear inferno, on disarmament and detente, has a confidence-encouraging nature over and above the bilateral framework. We are making a weighty contribution to the common European home through exemplary relations of peaceful coexistence.

Trade and economic cooperation have always occupied an important position in our relations. We can state with satisfaction that the program for the development of trade and economic relations between our countries, signed on the occasion of my state visit to Sweden in June 1986, is being implemented successfully. Impressive confirmation of this is the considerable increase in mutual trade, including extensive construction work, in the period 1986-88.

The GDR will continue to do everything possible to guarantee the extension and deepening of economic cooperation and to develop it for the long-term. We are convinced that the continuous development of foreign trade relations between our countries contributes effectively to promoting peaceful cooperation, counteracting worldwide endeavors hostile to detente, and to further consolidating goodneighborly relations.

The friendship of our people for their northern neighbors grows not least from the humanist traditions and intellectual-cultural spheres of contact our peoples have produced in a history of over 1,000 years. Names such as those of the reformer, Olaus Petri; the representative of the enlightenment, Thomas Thorild; the chemist, Carl-Wilhelm Scheele; the engineer, Christopher Polhem, are the manifestation for many, in their lives and work, of the mutual enrichment of our cultures. The writer, August Strindberg, whose 140th birth anniversary was yesterday, must also be mentioned.

For us, the Baltic Sea is a historical bridge, and at the same time a question that unites our interests. In order to keep it ecologically clean and capable of survival, to organize it into an area of peace and cooperation, to consolidate its nation-uniting character, needs the joint efforts of all states touching its waters.

I am certain that our talks and the arrangements we have made will lend new impetus to our relations as well as to the efforts for comprehensive peaceful cooperation on our continent.

Wil you raise your glasses with me for
—a peaceful future,
—goodneighborly relations between the Kingdom of Sweden and the GDR.

To your personal health, Mr Prime Minister, to the health of your honored wife, and to all the Swedish guests.

Carlsson Dinner Toast

LD2301223889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1921 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The toast made by Ingvar Carlsson, prime minister of the Kingdom of Sweden, on the occasion of the official dinner given today in his honor by Erich Honecker, has the following text:

When my delegation and I arrived in Dresden 2 days ago, we stayed in a hotel that had been partly constructed by a Swedish building enterprise. There we were also able to have a look at a new building under Swedish site supervision. Recently enterprises from the GDR have also taken part in construction work in Sweden, and have, in cooperation with Swedish firms, discovered interesting projects that can be developed jointly. These small examples already make it clear that states and peoples in present-day Europe can find the path toward cooperation even if they are representatives of differing social systems.

The final document of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which those states participating at the conference agreed on almost 14 years ago in Helsinki, was a sign of the understanding that we in Europe can make progress, not against each other but with each other. The ensuing process, closely followed and welcomed by people throughout Europe, has led to us growing closer to each other. The old concepts of the enemy have given way to a healthy curiosity into the experiences and views of other people.

Just recently, the follow-up meeting in Vienna ended its work after more than 2 years of negotiations. The results of these sometimes slow-moving negotiations are of great significance because they reflect the perceptible improvement of the general political climate in Europe. These successes signify quite concretely that human rights have been strengthened. At the same time the possibilities for direct contacts and meetings between people in the East and in the West will improve. It is right that the freedom of movement of Europeans should be expanded. This would make a great contribution to overcoming the division of Europe, which unfortunately still exists, a division which is so noticeable in this city.

In Vienna we have created even better prerequisites for economic cooperation. The fact that the participants in Vienna were able to agree to continue the negotiations on military questions must be assessed positively. This is to occur through a continuation of the Stockholm conference on confidence-building and security measures, and partly through negotiations between the military alliances on the reduction of conventional forces.

Of course, Mr Chairman of the Council of State, I welcome what you have just said on reductions in military forces in the GDR. We know from our common postwar history that the policy of deterrence has not led to a secure peace. And every time in the older history of Europe, when armies built up for deterrence went to war, our continent was struck by death and devastation.

In the age of weapons of mass destruction, including those, which you, Mr Chairman of the Council of State, have so succinctly called devilry [teufelszeug], the threat to our continent is more fateful still. However, the situation between the military alliances has now become less tense, and this has had a favorable effect on the whole of Europe. New opportunities are available and we must now devote ourselves forcefully to the work of disarmament.

Just as the threat to our existence by weapons of mass destruction knows no frontiers, damage to the environment also crosses borders. Reports are published daily on acid rain, forests dying, and pollution of the North Sea and the Baltic. The environmental movement has through various citizens' initiaitives played an important role in awakening us. We are called on to act. The cross-border nature of environmental problems and our citizens' concerns remind us to work together. A series of agreements has been signed to this end including one on sulphur emissions. It is now a matter of fulfilling them. A strategy with specific measures is indispensible. Investment in environmental technology has to be promoted.

It would be a false assertion to claim that one cannot afford the protective measures, which are sometimes expensive, on economic grounds. On the contrary, the damage is more expensive to society. We cannot afford to do nothing. Social development also has to be directed toward being lasting, that is, we must prevent environmental damage before it arises.

I have stressed the need for international cooperation. I do this in the conviction that only open dialogue and respect for other people and their views can positively influence development. This is the case in the life of a country, as well as in the life of an international community. This method has proved itself well in our bilateral relations. Since your visit to Sweden 2 and ½ years ago, we have been able to find solutions to some problems. I am thinking here chiefly of property law and other legal matters.

It is also gratifying that our trade has risen in this period, and that trade relations have been expanded to include new areas. The program for the development of trade and economic relations, signed during this opportunity

by our foreign trade ministers, has established the directives for further work. We have progressed a good deal in the realization of the intentions of this program. The prerequisites for further favorable development of our economic relations are good.

The Swedish Government and Swedish firms have sincere interest in the further growth of trade and industrial cooperation. We feel a similar endeavor on the part of the GDR.

Mr Chairman of the Council of State, today we have had significant discussions with you and other representatives of the political leadership. I appreciate this opportunity to be able to fully discuss matters of joint significance. We have also had a wide exchange of views with the Evangelical Church, and with citizens of your country, particularly in Dresden. My wife and I, and the other members of the Swedish delegation were received with cordial hospitality, and we would like to thank you most heartily for this. In conclusion, may I invite you and the other guests to raise a glass with me and to drink to the good relations between Sweden and the GDR, to the people in both our countries, and to your health and the health of your wife.

Politburo Members Attend Dinner

LD2301224989 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1952 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Excerpts] Berlin (ADN)—Erich and Margot Honecker hosted a dinner this evening in honor of Ingvar Carlsson and his wife Ingrid. [passage omitted] The dinner began with the anthems of the two countries. Present at the dinner were SED Central Committee Politburo members Hermann Axen, Horst Dohlus, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Werner Jarowinsky, Guenther Kleiber, Egon Krenz, Werner Krolikowski, Guenter Mittag, Erich Mueckenberger, Guenter Schabowski, and Harry Tisch, as well as candidate member of the Politburo, Inge Lange. [passage omitted]

After the dinner, held in the headquarters of the Council of State, Erich Honecker bade farewell to his guest with good wishes for further successful work. In the office of the chairman of the Council of State, the Swedish Government head signed his name in the guest book, in the presence of Ingrid Carlsson and Margot Honecker.

In the entrance hall of the building, Erich Honecker and Ingvar Carlsson then said "goodbye" to each other. The guest and his wife again gave thanks for the hospitality accorded them and their entourage in the GDR. They bade farewell to the other members of the GDR party and state leadership. Erich Honecker accompanied Ingvar Carlsson from the building to the awaiting car.

The Swedish prime minister flies back to Stockholm tomorrow morning.

Carlsson Cited on Reunion Cases

LD2301184289 Stockholm Domestic Service in Swedish 1545 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] [Announcer] The East German authorities have said that they will give exit permits to eight reunion cases—East Germans who want to leave the country to be reunited with relatives in Sweden. Today, Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson, during his visit to East Berlin, received new positive information that a further eight reunion cases can be cleared.

Our East Berlin reporter, Herman Melzer, asked Ingvar Carlsson if this means that these eight cases have been resolved.

[Begin recording] [Carlsson] No, they have not been solved yet, but I hope that through today's discussions we have created preconditions for this. The discussions were conducted in a very good atmosphere.

[Melzer] Did you criticize East Germany over human rights today?

[Carlsson] When one presents a list of names that one feels justified about bringing up, that means one is not pleased with the current situation. But I want to emphasize that both in Stockholm, and here today, we were able to hold these talks in a constructive way. I want to emphasize that this does not only include the GDR, but what concerns the Soviet Union, so we use, if I can express it in this way, the same strategy, the same procedure. We have managed to have great success in our aims. [end recording]

[Announcer] East Germany thus takes one more small step toward getting a better reputation when it comes to maintaining human rights. Ingvar Carlsson today received information about positive handling of eight reunion cases. In addition, a week ago East Germany gave the go-ahead for eight other reunion cases.

In this morning's talks Ingvar Carlsson also presented a list of people who want to leave East Germany and travel to their relatives in countries other than Sweden. They appealed to the Swedish Government for help when they heard that our prime minister was to visit the GDR.

Swedish Prime Minister Departs

LD2401100889 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0904 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Ingvar Carlsson, prime minister of the Kingdom of Sweden, ended his state visit to the GDR on Tuesday morning and set off by airplane for Stockholm. He, his wife, and his entourage were bade farewell at the Berlin-Schoenefeld Airport by Oskar Fischer, GDR foreign minister. Also present were the ambassadors of the two countries, Erich Wetzl and Henrik Liljegren.

Lukacs Says MSZMP 'Cannot Forbid' New Parties

LD2101205189 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Text] The MSZMP does not initiate the creation of other parties but cannot forbid them either. This was stated today by Janos Lukacs in Eger. The Politburo member and Central Committee secretary was speaking at the party conference in Heves County, where, by the way, the first secetary, in his opening speech, discussed the worsening public mood and increasing antiparty sentiments. Gyorgy Nodi reports:

[Nodi] The party conference began by wasting time and, on occasion, sharp personal exchanges. Prior to the debate on substance, the delegates argued about the agenda for nearly an hour, raising questions again and again about issues on which they themselves had alrady decided. This fact also indicates the uncertainty of party members, not least their lack of confidence in the county apparatus.

In replying to the critical remarks, First Secretary Alajos Barta also admitted that although the county political body is receptive to the new initiatives, the bureaucratic style of work has dominated party work and left a mark on the apparatus. Its activity has not adequately served the interests of the membership and, therefore, it awaits renewal. For this, however, there was a need not only for a theoretical but also for a practical program. Few delegates spoke about these, however; instead, they exposed the already known problems of their narrower environment. There was an exception, of course, such as this proposal: If the basic organization is really one of the most important areas of politics, then the material basis should be ensured for its work, that is, by allowing it to use a proportion of the membership fees.

The debate of the Heves County party conference ended in the early evening, and the delegates are now deciding on personnel changes and organizational issues.

Diplomats' Families Recalled From Afghanistan

LD2301204089 Budapest MTI in English 1958 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, January 23 (MTI)—Family members of Hungarian diplomats working in Kabul have been temporary recalled, said a spokesman for the Hungarian Foreign Ministry in a statement to the correspondent of the Budapest afternoon daily ESTI HIRLAP. The step was taken as armed fighting will most probably increase in Afghanistan following the withdrawal of Soviet troops.

At present, 16 Hungarian citizens—six families—are in the Afghan capital as appointees of the Hungarian Foreign Ministry and the Ministry of Trade.

National Bank Publishes Figures for 1988

AU2301122089 Budapest MTI in English 0913 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Budapest, MTI, 23/01/1989—At USD 600 million, the country's current account deficit was close to the planned figure last year. It has lessened by USD 250 million over 1987, the National Bank of Hungary reported.

The hard currency trade surplus exceeded USD 500 million. The balance of hard currency payments on interests stood USD 1,050 billion in the red, as foreseen. Medium and long-term convertible debt service was USD 2.2 billion.

The sum of new medium- and long-term loans exceeded the above figure. The new loans more or less covered the current account deficit. At the end of the year the country's gold and hard currency reserves stood at USD 2.1 billion.

The total of debts owed by economic organizations to the National Bank of Hungary and commercial banks decreased by 3 per cent in 1988.

Since the availability of the world passport trebled tourism-related expenditures last year, the country's tourism balance showed a much smaller convertible surplus last year—USD 100 million as compared to 350 million in 1987.

Refinancing loans granted by the National Bank of Hungary stayed within the projected frames. Despite the tight monetary policy of the central bank, the cooperation of the bank of issue and commercial banks has improved.

The stock of banknotes and coins in circulation increased in 1988 by 6.7 per cent.

According to preliminary figures, the population's savings grew by 28.1 billion forints during 1988.

However, 27.1 billion forints accrued from interests due on deposits at the end of the year, whereas current savings declined by 1.7 billion forints.

Individuals deemed securities a better option for safeguarding the value of their savings.

There was lively interest in treasury bills and certificates of deposit, investment in these is estimated to have risen by 10 billion forints over last year.

Reports Vary on Nature, Motive of Priest's Death

Reports 'Exaggerated, Premature'

LD2301181989 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1615 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] According to the militia, reports that the parish priest of St. Karol Boromeusz church in Powazki was a victim of robbery and murder are exaggerated and premature. The postmortem has shown that the direct cause of death of Father Stefan Niedzielak was an injury to the uppermost section of the spine and that there were no external, visible wounds.

Autopsy Shows Brutal Murder

AU2401085489 Paris AFP in English 2211 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 23 (AFP)—A post-mortem on Polish priest Stefan Niedzielak has found that he was brutally murdered, reliable sources said on Monday.

Earlier a television news report, quoting a police statement published by the official PAP news agency, said it was "too early" to speak of a "sordid crime" leading to the death of the 74-year-old priest, whose badly battered body was found in his Warsaw presbytery early Saturday.

But the sources said the post-mortem found he had been murdered by "one or more people of great physical strength or adept in special combat technics".

His corpse was covered with "a series of external wounds to the head, the face, the arms and feet," the post-mortem showed. He had also suffered a broken back, which led to his death, and a broken nose.

Father Niedzielak's back could have been fractured in falling "from a great height" or from "great violence", according to the report.

Two of the priest's finger nails on his left hand had been split, showing he put up a strong fight, the sources added, quoting the report.

Meanwhile, the chancellor of the Warsaw archdiocese, Father Zdzislaw Krol, said in a TV interview he hoped the police would investigate the death "honestly".

Police have questioned 30 witnesses, a police spokesman said during the same news programme.

"We have so far failed to establish if this is a murder or a theft followed by an attack," he said.

Police were also investigating the possibility of an accident, he added.

Church Official Comments

AU2401095789 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 24 Jan 89 p 1

[AFP/KATHPRESS report: "So Far, the Polish Church Has Seen No Political Motives for Priest's Murder"]

[Text] Warsaw—According to information from the official Polish news agency, PAP, the priest Stefan Niedzielak who was murdered in Warsaw on the weekend [21-22 January] did not fall victim to a political crime. There are many indications of the murder accompanied by the robbery of the 74-year old priest. Alojzy Orszulik, spokesman of the Polish Bishops' Conference, also stated that at present there are no indications of a possible political background.

However, Orszulik also said that preliminary concrete results have to be obtained in the investigations, in order for one to be able to completely exclude political motives for the murder. The Church is waiting for the results of the police investigation, however, and afterward the publication of an individual report by the diocesan authorities is planned. Although Niedzielak sympathized with the Polish opposition, he did not belong to the prohibited nationalist "Confederation for an Independent Poland," Orszulik stressed.

Leaders Speak on PZPR Plenary Meeting

Stepien on Party Reform

LD1501232289 Warsaw PAP in English 2241 GMT 15 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 15—Appearing on the evening TV news bulletin tonight, PUWP CC Secretary Marian Stepien—referring to Wojciech Jaruzelski's statement at the party meeting at the "Kasprzak" works in Warsaw on Friday—stressed the role and importance of pluralism in the socio-political life of the country.

All the movement in the party is nothing else but an acknowledgement of such a Poland as it really is, Stepien said.

The PUWP CC Secretary stated that the movement of party thought seeks optimal proportions between freedom of discussion and exchange of thoughts and the effectiveness of action. These proportions cannot be fixed once and for all. The party's life should constantly control and controls the right proportions, Stepien pointed out.

The PUWP CC Secretary also said that the 10th plenum should be a part of the process of reforming the party. This process has been taking place for some time. The 10th plenum did not begin this process, it is nonetheless an expression of its certain force and maturity as significant changes have taken place both in the programmatic and personnel sphere. The second part of the plenum will presumably confirm earlier decisions, put them to detail

and develop them, but this will not be the end of the reformative process which will proceed along with the development of the country and change of the socio-political reality, Stepien stated.

Lubowska Makes Statement

AU2301081189 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 18 Jan 89 p 5

[Roundup signed "AG" and "Dzierz" of statements made by PZPR Central Committee members on the course of the second half of the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum in Warsaw on 17 January: "RZECZPOSPOLITA Was Told"]

[Excerpt] Iwona Lubowska, PZPR Politburo member and director of the Adam Asynek High School in Bielsko-Biala: "The atmosphere of this plenary meeting is important. The most interesting thing was the open attitude toward all kinds of problems and the different ways in which participants in the debate expressed specific thoughts. Perhaps this would not have been so interesting were it not for the fact that issues such as trade union and political pluralism, which had been taboo subjects until not so long ago, were discussed. It seems to me that by doing this in an "urbi et orbi" manner, which is the way these things have to be said, we showed the world that there is openness, democracy, and restructuring in our party.

"As for the issues that were raised during the debate, what interested me most of all were internal party matters, which appeared in almost every speech that was made. I would point to an issue that I personally find problematic, namely, party members' concern about their lot. Today, being a party member means having to have enormous courage, especially when it comes to expressing one's views." [passage omitted]

Walesa's 15 Dec Meeting With Journalists

AU2201163189 Warsaw PRZEGLAD KATOLICKI in Polish 8 Jan 89 pp 2, 3

[Report by Jan Skorzynski: "Questions for Lech Walesa"]

[Text] An unusual event took place at the Gdansk "video" diocesan documentary center on 15 December. Several dozen journalists representing the Catholic and independent press had an opportunity to speak to Lech Walesa for almost 2 hours. The entire event was filmed by a team from the Gdansk bishopric's documentary department with a view to producing a special video film. The Solidarity chairman replied to a wide range of questions about topical issues, but he also spoke about visions of the future and assessments of the past. He also talked about his visit to France. These are some of the statements that he made.

What Is Solidarity Fighting for?

No one has a monopoly on Poland. Solidarity is not fighting for any programs that I or someone else might have thought up. We are fighting for an opportunity to create programs, for the pluralism that would make that possible. Thus, we are not proposing programs, but topics for discussion. Anyone who senses what is going to happen in Poland should, without engaging in demagogy, try to talk about political, social, and economic issues, seek solutions, and even try to form organizations, but should not start shouting, because that is the wrong approach. When we have succeeded in getting pluralism, various programs will spring up like mushrooms. The point is that a program should not be imposed. I am fighting for this kind of possibility for everyone. A wise person does not shout, but just goes about preparing his program, and when the time is right, he will be ready.

Accord—With Whom?

In Poland, the devil himself should be spoken to. Compromises can be reached. It is not people that count, but structures and proposals. If the government were to change every week, the situation would be even worse. Although I could make a whole number of complaints about Rakowski or somebody else, I will speak to everyone.

De-Stalinization or a Struggle Against Communism?

Many people expect me to say that I am fighting the Communists. However, I do not talk about communism, because I really do not know communism. I was born in 1943. So, I got to know Stalinism and its methods. Then Stalin died, and Khrushchev appeared. However, he did not do anything new, but continued with Stalin's ways, and so did all those who came after him. What changed was that they did not murder so many people, or even stopped murdering altogether. However, they all continued down Stalin's road with the party's monopoly on power, the monopoly on the economy, and so on. In my opinion, honesty, not fear, makes it imperative to talk about Stalin and his methods, which continue to exist today. So, when I say that I am not fighting the commies, but Stalin, that is the truth. I say so, because I do not know communism; I do not know what communism looks like. Perhaps it is something that the theorists know, but I am practical person—I finished 3 years of vocational school, and I was not taught Marxism. It might be communism to you, but it is Stalinism to me, because I got smacked on the head for not crying when Stalin died. The Stalinist model is still in force in Poland. There is still a monopoly, and that has to end. This is because the monopoly means coercion, depriving individuals and groups of their rights.

On the "Roundtable"

The first thing you have to do is to identify your goal, and then choose an appropriate course of action. There is only one matter that I have to settle at the "roundtable," that is, unqualified pluralism for Poland. My role and that of the people working with me will end with that. Then, you are the people who have to put that pluralism into practice. So, you have to lead Poland smoothly and calmly, under existing conditions—with the economic situation being as it is, with the amount of money there is, and with the people that there are—to the pluralism that Lech Walesa and others fought to get. You have to this in such a way that pluralism does not turn into anarchy, but leads Poland to Europe and the rest of the world. This will be very difficult. There will be conflicts, so we have to create legal safeguards and arbitration procedures that will ensure that conflicts cannot bring everything down. This has to involve institutions and people who enjoy the greatest amount of public confidence, that is, the church, bishops, and others who will say—yes, it is terrible, but we have no other choice, and people must know that we will not cheat them.

What Will Solidarity Be Like?

Solidarity will not be what it was, neither organizationally nor in terms of personnel. It cannot be the same, even if we wanted it to be. Young people are different from us; they are starting out from a different position. I do not know what Solidarity will be like now. What I want for the time being is the right for it to exist. The founding committees will choose delegates for a congress, which will choose new governing bodies and a new program. I do not know what the program will be like. I only assume that we will not allow ourselves to be hoodwinked by demagogues, who are then the first to run away. We do, of course, need to wage a resolute and tough struggle, but it must also be a wise one. So, what Solidarity will be will be decided at the workplace. I hope that it will be more aware and better in light of all that experience. It will pass on a whole number of issues to political clubs and associations. In 1982, when I left internment, I asked myself the following question: Do we want to return to 1981 and recover what we lost, or do we want to believe that that period is over and we are now counting on pluralism, giving an opportunity to young people, politicians, and others, and so, we are not striving for the kind of unity that we had in 1981? There are many paths leading to the same goal, that is, the democratization of Poland. That is the concept that won out. Today, Solidarity means reform. Once pluralism is obtained, Solidarity's main focus will be on union affairs, and other people will leave to engage in other forms of activity.

Fear of Reform

Let us not get concerned about how things will be in 100 years. What we should be concerned about is that we do not have rights and freedom. What should be done with people who are working in plants that have to be closed down? There will, of course, be difficulties of this kind. However, it is not my job to solve these problems. First of all, we have to give people freedom. Of course, experts, intellectuals should think about what to do next, but that is not where we should start. We should begin with freedom. I do not have an answer for every problem and I have no right to. Perhaps, if I could start everything from the very beginning once again.... However, the situation that we have is such as it is. We have authorities that do not want to share power and want to keep as much as they can for themselves, and we have Solidarity, which only wants to fight and wants to get as much for itself as it can. That is what the situation is, and it will not be possible to get out of this situation painlessly; it will not be an easy process. However, we should not think about how things will be, but about things as they are now. (Law of 31 July 1981 "On the Control of Publications and Spectacles" Article 2, Item 6—Official Gazette Issue 20, Item 99, 1983, Official Gazette Issue 44, Item 204). [editorial notation indicating that censor's office has requested removal of passage]

What About the Emigrants?

It is my impression that 70 percent of emigrants would like to return. That is to say that they would like to, but are afraid to. If we create the right conditions in this country, people will come back, they will still come back, although the percentage will be increasingly smaller. When I met emigrants in Paris, I told them that they should not judge me or Cardinal Glemp too hastily, but should take account of the conditions under which we have to work. I regret that I could only spend so little time with emigrants, but my stay in Paris involved a great number of all kinds of meetings. Actually, I was not properly prepared for the visit. I only knew one thing: I should not wash Poland's dirty linen in public and I should not destroy the opportunity that is emerging here. Whether this opportunity is a great one is something that I cannot say. Perhaps it is some act of deception, but if it is a real opportunity, then it should not be lost. So, I told Poles living abroad that they should return to Poland. I also told Western politicians that Poland should be helped and that it is worth helping her. However, I said that Poland should be helped in a way that will not strengthen the authorities but will encourage democracy. So, what has to be found is a form of assistance whose use will be subject to public control.

The Social Role of the Church

It is very important that the church should not abandon social issues. We have to continue to keep together with the church; we have to understand each other and build things together. If we do not succeed in this, then, for the first time in Polish history, a crack will appear in the bond between society and the church. This beautiful cooperation has existed for centuries. Will we meet today's new challenges? There may be people in the

church who will begin to worry about the new arrangement of forces that we are seeking to create. In a certain sense, a situation in which the church faced the communist authorities alone was more comfortable, clearer. However, a third force might appear now, and that will complicate matters. I would warn against this kind of thinking. We cannot be allowed to destroy the work of many generations that has gone into creating a symbiosis between society and the church. The rest of the world started moving in this direction a long time ago, and we cannot be allowed to repeat this mistake. I noticed the effects of this in Paris. I told the French that they have a beautiful city, but that it had no soul. I hope that the church will not allow itself to be won over by the authorities, who are counting on that very much. We cannot allow ourselves to be divided on religious grounds. I am practicing believer, but I am against this. There are all kinds of people in this country, and all of them must have a right to freedom. Pluralism is for everyone, irrespective of their faith.

On the Televised Meeting With Miodowicz

How did I manage to get onto Polish television? I cannot answer that question. Was it an accident, or was it a subtle piece of politics on the part of our partners, or—as some may prefer—our opponents? I think that it was a more of fluke, but I might be wrong. Perhaps it was an attempt to draw me into the game, to distance me from my union base and win me over for the realization of an old policy with a few small changes. Walesa is on the other side—perhaps that is what it was about. However, I do not care. My most important role and my most beautiful time, August, is actually already behind me. My current philosophy is not to lose what we fought together to achieve. On the other hand, I am very concerned about solving problems. If someone is calculating that he can win over Walesa to hoodwink the nation and cut himself off from it, then he is very much mistaken.

What Kind of New System?

I do not want to use systems to define myself. I was told to believe in communism and then in socialism, but all that was an illusion. These things do not interest me. I want to have freedom, I want to have a tolerable life, I want to be able to form organizations, I want to be able to go to church freely, I want to be able to write and say what I want to, I want to belong to whatever party I like. I want to have all these opportunities. What this will be called is not important. The contents of the bottle are important, and not its label.

Do You Want To Be Poland's Man of the Moment?

We do not ask questions of this kind. The man I want to be first and foremost is my wife's husband, and I have shown that I can be that. Anything more than that....There are so many people who are better, more gifted than me. We are creating conditions for them: We shold not argue about power. We should let young people grow up and allow them to display their education and political ability. They will govern Poland better.

Walesa's Citizens' Committee Viewed Positively

AU2001121889 Warsaw RZECZYWISTOSC in Polish 15 Jan 89 p 2

[Commentary by Piotr Olejnik: "The 'Shadow Cabinet' and Prospects for Dialogue"]

[Text] It was a week before Christmas. The Polish media carried a terse report on a meeting involving Lech Walesa and 130 of his advisers and colleagues in the basement of a church on Zytnia Street in Warsaw. The meeting, which lasted several hours, resulted in the formation of a citizens' committee headed by the leader of the onetime Solidarity union.

The reports produced by Western press agencies and the press in the West almost immediately christened the body a "shadow cabinet," that is, a kind of opposition government, an alternative government to Premier Rakowski's Council of Ministers. There is little doubt that what induced Western commentators to interpret things in this way was the fact that the committee was divided into 12 commissions dealing with specific sets of issues and in terms of subject matter, many of these commission correspond, in a sense, to official government departments. It is worth listing them, because this provides quite a good insight into what interests the opposition. Commissions were established for trade union pluralism, political reform, justice and the law, economic reform, agriculture, housing construction, social policy, health, culture, local government, environmental protection, organizations and associations, ethnic minorities, and youth.

The list shows that the opposition is interested in practically all aspects of public life, which surely does not come as surprise, just as it is no surprise that there are no commissions dealing with internal affairs, foreign affairs, or national defense—that would be going too far and would be a clear admission that what is being waged is a struggle for power in the state. Meanwhile, the declaration adopted by the committee suggests that the members of the committee have renounced a struggle of this kind while nevertheless stressing that the legalization of Solidarity is an essential condition for the success of all the reforms. This represents a precondition for holding a "roundtable," and that in itself would seem to make the possibility of such a meeting taking place even more remote.

In light of this, it is quite an exaggeration to call Lech Walesa's citizens' committee a "shadow cabinet." It would be more accurate to describe the new organ as a kind of opposition brains' trust that could work out the opposition's stance on a particular issue that would then be discussed with the authorities at a "roundtable" or in some other form that would more closely resemble a

debate among experts. That a discussion of this kind will take place sooner or later is surely something that no one doubts. This was stated during the first half of the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum, and Premier Rakowski has repeated that a meeting will take place on many occasions.

Thus, it is highly probable that there are some very interesting events in store for us in the political field. The opposition seems to have closed ranks in the face of the dynamism displayed by the new government and organized itself into quite a broad coalition that excludes extremists who are openly fighting socialism and the authorities. In view of this, it is important that some of these commissions are headed by people such as Paszynski (housing construction) and Trzeciakowski (economic reform) who were actually offered places in the government by Premier Rakowski himself. Thus, it can be said that what has been established is a structure that represents the constructive opposition, that is to say, an opposition with which the possibility of dialogue is not in any way excluded—it is appropriate to once again mention the course of the first half of the 10th party plenum in this context. It would surely benefit all of us if this dialogue were to start fairly quickly. This would seem to call for rather more flexibility and boldness and, above all, the abandonment by the opposition of the endless repetition of all kinds of preconditions.

OPZZ Leaders Meet, Discuss Plenum Resolution

Ciosek Addresses Committee

LD1901143489 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] The effects of the 10th PZPR Central Committee Plenum and the stance adopted by the Central Committee on political and trade union pluralism are being discussed by the OPZZ Executive Committee. Stanislaw Ciosek, who is taking part in the meeting, presented the Party Central Committee's stand. He said that this stance was passed in the interests of social forces in Poland.

Trade unionists' opinion on this document wil be formulated after consultation with trade union organizations in work places, and at the OPZZ Council session. The OPZZ Executive Committee is also dealing with the draft plan for consolidation of the national economy and government draft documents connected with this plan. Trade unionists will also discuss the draft ammendment of the law on housing and welfare work funds.

OPZZ Ends Resolutions' Debates

LD2001234689 Warsaw PAP in English 2109 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 20—Two-day debates of the Executive Committee of the all-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ) ended today in the adoption of resolutions on the stand of the 10th PUWP CC Plenum on political and union pluralism and on essential socio-economic problems in 1989.

The committee also took a stance on draft amendements to the Law on Enterprises' Social and Housing Funds and on assumptions of systemic changes in the social policy, prepared by the Ministry of Labour.

The body turned to all unions in work establishments to support a protest staged by construction workers "in defence of unionist rights and enterprises' independence."

In its resolution on pluralism the committee turned to factory and national union organizations and to the voivodship Alliances of Trade Unions (WPZZ) to urgently ask for opinions of union members on he essence of the PUWP CC stand and possible future developments, to be discussed by the OPZZ council next Jan. 26.

In connection with reports on cases of violating the Law on Trade Unions by administration at various levels the committee obliged the secretariat of the OPZZ National Council to set up intervention groups at the OPZZ and WPZZ by next Feb. 1. Their task would be to grant all-round aid to unions in enterprises in their conflicts with administration.

The body accepted a timetable of ventures to be shortly undertaken by the OPZZ.

Officials Talk With Jaruzelski

LD2301214189 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] [Announcer] Council of State Chairman Wojciech Jaruzelski has spoken with OPZZ representatives at Belweder Palace, including OPZZ Chairman Alfred Miodowicz, and deputy chairmen Martyniuk, Sosnowski, and Martyniuk.

[Begin recording] [Unidentified correspondent] With what basic concern do you come to today's talks?

[Miodowicz] Neither to moan nor to complain. We will explain what we want to do this year; how to ensure that workers' living standards are not reduced; how to join in the program of reforms; how to cooperate.

[Martyniuk] We must of course speak of the difficult matters facing Poles.

[Sosnowski] The premier clearly said this in his expose: inflation, excessive prices, housing, health, the environment.

[Correspondent] Are there any new experiences in the sphere of cooperation between the unions?

[Martyniuk] I would point out that our enterprise union organizations are independent and self-governing. Where there exist such realistic possibilities they sit and talk with each other, and discuss how and what to do,

what to change for the better so that people live not only differently, but better. On the other hand, where there are personal ambitions, things might be more difficult.

[Sosnowski] We are made uneasy by one thing. Namely, the matter of the eventual political struggle that could take place in our work enterprises. [end recording]

[Announcer] Discussion on the new situation in the union movement continues. The OPZZ representatives stressed that pluralism can strengthen social control over those administering power. They stated that for the good of the country it is necessary to cooperate with all those who desire that life in Poland improves. Those who carry the main weight of the crisis on their shoulders were talked about with concern. Unease was expressed at the delays in the process of revizing the Labor Code and the Law on Trade Unions. The talks continue.

Professor Examines Trade Union Pluralism

LD2001100889 Warsaw PAP in English
2039 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 19—Psychologist professor Janusz Reykowski, elected Political Bureau member during the first part of the 10th PUWP CC plenary session, made a statement on the influence of the 10th plenum's decisions on Poland's political and social life in the Warsaw evening daily express WIECZORNY, excerpts:

"The adoption of the resolution by the 10th PUWP CC Plenum and the stand on pluralism is a step towards essential restructing of Poland's political system. Poland of some years ago was an area of political monocentrism—everything remained in smaller or greater dependence on the PUWP. Progress in the process of pluralization led to the necessity of changes in the political system. A chance emerges to restructure the system on the principles of agreement rather than through confrontation.

"The party consciously ceases to be the only centre from which everything radiates but it does not give up the role of the main link of the political system and guarantor of its balance. Thus, one can say about a kind of the PUWP's self-limitation in playing a political monorole."

Asked how one could imagine a guarantee that trade union pluralism, that is, legalization of Solidarity, would not cause the resumption of political struggle in factories with all the consequences known to us, Reykowski answered:

"The guarantees were the key problem of the debate over the PUWP CC stand on political and trade union pluralism. Fears that political struggle can be resumed in factories are very strong and they are not groundless. After all, it is fortunate that they were publicly voiced by leading figure of the extra-governmental camp Lech Walesa.

"The guarantee becomes a conditional stand of the PUWP CC that makes progress in pluralization conditional on reaching agreement at the round table on mechanisms preventing unfavourable developments, while the success of the round table talks depends on whether it is possible to find a convincing solution."

Answering a question whether the vote of confidence for the PUWP leadership was necessary, Reykowski said:

"It was very necessary, as the party faced a very important political decision. During consultations before the second part of the 10th plenum and during the PUWP CC debates themselves, there were a great difference of opinions, criticism and signs of discontent and that is why it was necessary to make clear to the end the situation that emerged, that is, to win a mandate to efficiently guide the implementation of decisions of the 10th plenum. The vote proved that despite differences of opinions in sizing up the present situation and despite differences in approaching political prospects, this leadership enjoys confidence of the PUWP CC, that is, the mandate to vigorously implement the contents written down in documents of the 10th plenum."

White House 'Welcomes' Roundtable Talks

LD2301233789 Warsaw PAP in English
2307 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Washington, Jan. 23—"We welcome with satisfaction the announced talks between the Polish Government and the leadership of Solidarity," the White House Spokesman Marlin Fitzwater said on Monday. "We have long thought that reform and economic progress can be put into life only through the process of dialogue and national reconciliation," he added.

The spokesman said that the process of reconciliation would have a positive impact on Polish-American relations and that President Bush was profoundly interested in the developments in Poland.

The Department of State spokesman Charles Redman said for his part that the offer of dialogue on the part of the Polish authorities was an encouraging and potentially historic step forward.

OPZZ's Plan To Consolidate Economy Viewed

LD1701175489 Warsaw PAP in English
1641 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 17—The plan for consolidation of the national economy and the related draft documents were examined by the economic commission of the All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions OPZZ today. Proceeding from the results of consultations with trade union organizations, the commission generally estimates that the consolidation plan has a general character and is a collection of slogans, while the drafts of detailed solutions lack elaboration. This concerns both drafts of

the 1989 budget law and amendments to the national socio-economic plan until 1990 and the 1989 central annual plan, and particularly an outline of the 1989 price and income policy.

The incoherence is proved by proposals to lower the indices, originally envisaged by the national socio-economic plan, of basic significance for implementing the three social priorities declared by the government: housing construction, the nation's diet and protection of natural environment. This concerns also other important social needs such as education and health service.

Trade unionists notice also positive sides of the government economic policy to which they include better conditions for starting economic activity.

Members of the commission voiced basic doubts as to the feasibility of maintaining price hikes planned for this year.

Daily Comments on Walesa Interview in POLITYKA

AU1701092389 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 9 Jan 89 p 2

[Commentary by Marek Jaworski: "Waiting for a Meeting"]

[Text] For many readers, the Walesa interview in the latest issue of POLITYKA has, with good reason, been the press event of the week. "We have to reach an agreement"—these words, which were lifted from the text of the conversation and the headline under which the item appeared, reflect the general tone of Walesa's line of reasoning. In light of his recent statements, this is not something entirely new, but he has probably never emphasized this point so clearly before.

Lech Walesa emerges from the conversation as someone who is not only faithful to the values that he espouses and the principles that he has adopted, but also as someone who has become wiser through the various experiences of the last 7 years and the thoughts that have accompanied them. He is ready for dialogue, to seek compromise, and his attitude is a conciliatory one. He is optimistic. There is no need to search for quotations, they suggest themselves.

Speaking about the television debate with Alfred Miodowicz, he says it was "very good, and that is not from the angle of a struggle or of victory. It must produce something: This stagnation which has existed in Poland must come to an end, because we are all losing through it. That is why something must happen after the meeting, I believe that. The debate breathed some life into our torpor; it has surely put some wind into our sails." Somewhat later he says: "I am convinced that we are seeing the beginnings of some kind of new stage. Although this has yielded no practical results yet, what we have for the time being are opportunities."

He prefers not to discuss the future: "I am a person who is oriented toward the future. I put aside what has been, so that my mind is clear. What has changed? The authorities have come to realize that nothing can be done in this country without accord. The public has also begun to realize that it will not get far without the authorities. Poles are searching for things that can be accomplished, for things that the authorities agree to, for those that society agrees to, and there are already things about which we can reach agreement jointly."

In another place he says: "We accept the fact that there cannot be constant strikes and struggles, that there can be no attempts to take over power, we can take steps to guard against that."

Walesa says: "I am a person who favors evolution. We will not seek to impose anything; we are struggling for opportunities to choose the best solutions," and one more quotation: "If each one of us—the pope, the primate, Walesa, or the government—says independently—friends, let us get to work and create some order in this country—then the results would not nearly be as great as if we were to do so together."

You would admit—and I could increase the number of such quotations—that one reads these kinds of things with understandable interest. Ultimately, these words come from someone who is the unquestioned leader of a movement that was previously known mainly for its ultimatums and a lofty arrogance that ignored everything. This is something extraordinarily interesting by all accounts. What has made it interesting are both Walesa's replies and the searching questions asked by the POLITYKA journalists Jerzy Baczynski and Marian Turski. Besides, what was also interesting was not just what was said, but also what was left unsaid.

Walesa is known as someone who is very skilled when it comes to dodging issues and questions in interviews, and he did not fail to display this ability a couple of times on this occasion. For example, he skillfully avoided having to make an assessment of the political experiences of the last few years by joking that his interviewers should go and ask the historians. Although he was being very much pressed into giving one, he did not provide a clear, precise answer to the question of what guarantees Solidarity provides that the "roundtable" talks will be a success. If this very obvious side-stepping undermines the credibility of his transformation into an advocate of dialogue and accord, then that is something the readers of the interview must judge for themselves. In any event, Walesa's tactical sharp-wittedness once again made itself very strongly felt in these parts of the interview.

However, leaving all that aside, there are issues that came up in the interview that were defined imprecisely in another way and make one think. One of these things is the vision of the system which, according to Walesa, the movement that he represents is striving to achieve. What is this system supposed to be like? It is to "take the

good things from capitalism and the few good things that there are about socialism." This makes one want to say that is being generous, thank you for wanting to save the few good things about socialism in your program for the restoration of capitalism in Poland. However, the one interesting thing, the very interesting thing, is what elements of socialism do you consider to be good. As soon as you have an opportunity, please tell us in what concrete ways you want to enrich the good things about capitalism with the good elements of socialism. Without an explanation, any kind of discussion about programs will remain suspended in mid-air.

The other important point that is not precisely explained during the interview concerns the warnings that appear here and there about "violence and blood," and even some kind of "revolution," if the authorities do no behave in accordance with the wishes of the rebellious groups within Solidarity, which—as emerges from Walesa's disclosures—he is using every last drop of his energy to keep under control. I would say that these are rather surprising moments in what is essentially a serious discussion, and they are neither in keeping with the substance of the discussion or the conciliatory tone that I mentioned. One may be pleased to hear that "after all, we do not want to become an Afghanistan," but this comparison must nevertheless strike one as being extremely surprising if one has just some elementary idea of the general picture regarding public attitudes in this country, which is one in which confrontation represents a rather narrow fringe element. Fortunately, Walesa already starts talking sensibly in his next sentence, when he says: "we will meet on the path of reform, because there is no alternative."

We have waited on this path a long time for Walesa and his supporters.

Walesa 12 Jan News Conference Reported

AU1901102189 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Jan 89 p 2

[Report signed 'Z.W.': "Lech Walesa News Conference: There Is No Social Agreement to the Throwing of Stones"]

[Text] Another news conference by Lech Walesa took place in the parish hall of St Brygida's Church in Gdansk on 12 January. First of all, he answered questions on the situation in the Gdansk shipyard, which began liquidation 2 months ago, a process planned to last 2 years. He said that many production and personnel matters in this enterprise are still being resolved. He announced his participation in several rallies in several departments of this enterprise. He stressed his negative stance toward strikes. One must display common sense and moderation in one's demands, he said.

Replying to another question, he underlined his desire to take active part in the peaceful settlement of national affairs. He said that there is no social agreement to the throwing of stones, and he and the people connected with would not support other non-peaceful methods of struggle either.

One must seek accord on domestic issues through peaceful methods and calm discussions. I have great faith in the fact that we will reach an accord.

Newspaper Cites Divisions in Solidarity

LD1901104389 Warsaw PAP in English 0931 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 19—Radio Free Europe last week broadcast an interview with Marian Jurczyk who confessed—according to the GLOS SZCZECINSKI paper—that there are vast divisions within the Solidarnosc, that a blockade has been imposed on some activists, including himself.

To justify his charges Jurczyk said: "The situation is following: Some activists have the possibility to carry out activities, that is they have certain means, or specifically financial means...if money comes from Western trade union councils for union activities, it should reach all the groups whatever their style of work, whether they are conciliatory or not. It simply cannot be otherwise. I think Lech Walesa can say much in this respect but he seems to fail to notice it, and this is a new mistake again."

The old truth is thus confirmed again: nothing divides people better than money, the GLOS SZCZECINSKI wrote.

Verbal Attacks Against Walesa Reported

LD1601215389 Warsaw PAP in English 1724 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 16—Western radio stations have been airing extensive statements by members of the so-called working group of Andrzej Gwiazda, violently attacking Lech Walesa over recent several weeks. On Jan. 6 Andrzej Slowik was heard on the Voice of America while two days later Marian Jurczyk spoke for Radio Free Europe.

Both gentlemen's opinions are neither original nor new. The two question the position of Lech Walesa at the head of "Solidarity," hiding themselves under cover of unionist legalism which allegedly makes them strive for convening a meeting of the national commission.

The two deny charges of extremism and at the same time rule out any compromise with the authorities with Jurczyk stressing that he cannot accept Walesa's stand on the issue. In turn Slowik tries to outbid his colleague, stating that he cannot see any need to sign an agreement which "neither signatory is willing to respect."

Worthy of mention is also an astounding statement by Slowik who, declaring himself as a supporter of pluralism, states that he wants to take away the monopoly for leading the union from the Walesa group. Also Jurczyk takes such a stand and attacks Walesa's advisers.

At his recent press conference Walesa termed Gwiazda's group as the people who "do not count." In the light of statements made by Jurczyk and Slowik one should hope that Walesa is right.

RFE Reports on Roundtable 'Preconditions'
LD2101154189 Warsaw PAP in English
1427 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 21—On January 19, Radio Free Europe aired more debates on various aspects of the 10th PUWP Central Committee Plenum and the political situation in Poland.

This time, Leopold Unger and Marek Latynski warned the opposition against joining "round table" talks before all doubts, for instance those contained in the questions of Premier Rakowski, associated with the relegalization of Solidarity are explained.

In connection with this suggestion a question appears as to the need for a "round table" in the case where everything is supposed to be explained before it starts.

It is worthwhile recalling that the party and government leaders have more than once given expression to the will to discuss without any pre-conditions all the problems with which the participants of the "round table" will sit at it. Of course, everything is to take place in conditions of the observance of the legal and constitutional order.

The "stance of the PUWP Central Committee on political pluralism and trade union puralism" stresses that early elections to the Sejm (parliament), taking into account the representation of broader political orientations, should be preceded by a determination at the "round table" of the electoral platform of that which in the face of the elections is common to Poles. Furthermore, the "round table" should describe the organizational forms of national agreement built on broader foundations. Terms, ways and the timetable of introducing trade union pluralism and opening a road towards setting up new trade unions, including Solidarnosc, should also be determined in this respect.

At a press conference held on January 19, Wojciech Jaruzelski once again confirmed what Gen Czeslaw Kiszczak said last August: We are not forwarding any pre-conditions before the "round table" meeting.

Michnik Interviewed on Proposed Roundtable
PM2401114889 Brussels LE SOIR in French
23 Jan 89 p 1

[Interview with Solidarity Adviser Adam Michnik by Pol Mathil—date, place not given]

[Text] [Mathil] It is unusual for the heads of state, government, the armed forces, and the police to threaten collective resignation, even in a democracy. However, it happened in Poland, which is not a democracy. They went to those lengths to force the PZPR Central Committee to accept the vague prospect of "relegalizing" Solidarity at some unspecified time in the future. What "play" are your compatriots performing?

[Michnik] In addition to the kamikaze quartet you have just mentioned, you can add a fifth head—the head of the official trade unions. The fact remains that there is no alternative team, the party is exhausted; however this is a dramatic gesture. It was intended to crush the resistance of those who oppose reforms in Poland. The fact that it was necessary to resort to such extreme gestures and that it was necessary to overdramatize the situation in this way and make it public, demonstrates the serious nature of the tension and the depth of the crisis in the party. One third of the Central Committee voted against the leadership. That is unprecedented. The "heroism" of the collective resignation is not intended only for domestic consumption.

[Mathil] Of course, the credibility of a party broken by the crisis is limited. And yet, it is this party which is promising to be Solidarity's faithful partner in turning Poland into a pluralist communist country.

[Michnik] This description strikes me as inherently contradictory, but it is true that it is with this party that we may have to negotiate. Solidarity's precondition for the "roundtable" was that the party should publish a declaration of intent to "relegalize" the independent trade union. That has been done. I think that we should seize this opportunity.

[Mathil] And yet, General Jaruzelski refused to give a clear answer to the question of whether Solidarity will have to fulfill the demands made by Prime Minister Rakowski before the roundtable starts, notably accepting a trial period concerning strikes, and Solidarity's integration into the socialist system.

[Michnik] A "trial period" strikes me as ridiculous. Strikes can break out without—and even against—Solidarity. Let us not even talk about the "system"—it is in ruins. Negotiations are going to start. We will then see the agenda. One point is not open to discussion—Solidarity's "relegalization." Henceforth, the question is not whether but when Solidarity will return to the legal political scene. And as regards Rakowski's demands, I would cite Walesa, who said that they are not worth dying for but are not enough to live for. He is right.

[Mathil] Nonetheless, Gen Jaruzelski claims that opening up to Solidarity and pluralism are part of the process launched by the PZPR.

[Michnik] That is one way of putting it. The party had a choice between a roundtable and, at worst, deadlock. The "relegalization" of Solidarity is not a gift from the party to the people but a cry for help.

[Mathil] Do you already live in a pluralist country?

[Michnik] Poland has always been a pluralist country. The PZPR is now recognizing that.

[Mathil] Are you prepared to enter the "common European home" which Mr Gorbachev would like to build?

[Michnik] Poland has never left Europe. It was Europe which left us....

Sejm Committee Considers Draft Economic Plans

LD1701015789 Warsaw PAP in English
2241 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 16—A draft opinion on the government plan of national economy consolidation and a draft law on amending the national socio-economic plan are already prepared. The Economic Plan, Budget and Finance Committee accepted today both documents after a day-long discussion.

Referring to the Sejm (parliament) committees' recent intensive work over the government bills, the deputies complained that their efforts do not meet an adequate recognition of some of the government's representatives.

The opinion adopted by the committee, which is to be presented at a plenary Sejm session, very clearly stresses that the draft consolidation plan does not contain a sufficiently profound analysis of the causes of failure of the to-date methods of economic management. It results in a certain gap in the justification of the proposals contained in the plan.

It is also stated that the objectives and assumptions formulated in the consolidation plan deserve appreciation, especially intentions to develop initiative, whereas the significance of the activities conducive to the growth of supply has not been adequately emphasized, and the proposed instruments of the plan's implementation raise many doubts and are not fully convergent with its objectives.

Textile Strike Suspended Until 8 Feb

LD2001221889 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1830 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] [Announcer] A News Bulletin reporter has returned from the Technical Textile Works in Pabianice with the latest news on the strike:

[Begin recording] [Krzystof Koscian, chairman of strike committee] At the moment, we are at the stage of solving and signing certain agreements. I can already say that one of the most important points, that is the first point which deals with pay, has already been solved by our strike committee and management. Quite simply, we have agreed to their propositions.

[Unidentified correspondent] Talks between management and the strike committee have been going on since this morning; their conclusion will also mean the end of the protest action. When, it is not known, but everything points to it happening shortly. [end recording]

[Announcer] And news, ladies and gentlemen, of literally 1 hour ago. The strike has been suspended until 8 February. The management had undertaken to present a program of economic measures aimed at improving the situation in the enterprise by that date.

Iranian Prime Minister Makes Official Visit

Visit To Begin on 17 Jan

LD1601212089 Warsaw PAP in English
1350 GMT 16 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 16—Iranian Prime Minister Mir Hoseyn Musavi will come on an official visit to Poland at the invitation of Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski on January 17.

The delegation will include considerable number of economic personalities which suggests that economic cooperation and trade will be among the main topics for talks, especially as the recent dozen or so months have seen considerable animation in this field.

Preliminary data show that Polish-Iranian turnovers reached 80-90 million dollars in 1988 which means about 40 percent increase against the previous year. Mutual supplies are tackled under long-term clearing agreement.

Polish firms sell mainly investment goods to Iran, among them, construction and road-building machinery, machine tools, chemicals, and crop spraying services. Polish importers buy Iranian oil, chromium ore, pistachio nuts, and seeds of the extremely productive Persian clover.

The Polish side can see large possibilities for greater exchange. One can hear from Warsaw experts that there are chances to triple the turnovers in a short time. Signing big contracts for the supply of machine tools, other tools, construction and road-building machinery, equipment for mining and metallurgy is possible. Considerable demand can be expected for services in removing war destruction, re-construciton and conservation of historical objects in Iran.

Greater exports involve possibilities to buy more, first of all, of the main Iranian product: oil. It seems possible that the Polish imports of oil may reach about 1 million tonnes soon.

Musavi Meets Rakowski, Malinowski

LD1701225789 Warsaw PAP in English
2226 GMT 17 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 17—Iran's Prime Minister Mir Hoseyn Musavi arrived in Poland today on an official visit at the invitation of Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski. It is expected that the talks in Warsaw will concern bilateral relations and above all issues of expanding economic cooperation.

The Iranian guest, who arrived in Warsaw aboard a special plane from Rome, was greeted by Rakowski and members of the Polish Government. As diplomatic protocol has it, the premiers listened to the anthems of both states and inspected the guard of honour of the Polish army. The ceremony at the airport was attended by Iran's Ambassador to Poland Abol Fazl Rahnama-Hazavei and the dean of the diplomatic corps in Poland, Ambassador of the Kingdom of Morocco Abdesselam Ouazzani.

Rakowski and Musavi held preliminary talks at the building of the Council of Ministers and briefed each other on the internal situation of their countries. They also exchanged views on some issues connected with international developments. Polish-Iranian plenary talks took place at the same time. The talks, presided over by Polish Vice Premier Ireneusz Sekula and Iranian Minister of Trade Abd al-Hoseyn Vahaji, will be continued on Wednesday.

The Iranian premier paid a visit to Sejm (parliament) Speaker Roman Malinowski. The visit was a continuation of the exchange of views which the two had last December during the Sejm delegation's visit to Tehran. The Sejm speaker briefed the guest on the structure and most important tasks of the Polish parliament in implementing the process of socio-political and economic reforms in Poland and against this backdrop characterized the importance of the recently passed laws on economic activity and on economic activity with foreign capital. The sides stressed the importance of interparliamentary cooperation for the development of Polish-Iranian relations.

Meets Messner, Malinowski

LD1801063089 Tehran IRNA in English
0621 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 18, IRNA—Prime Minister Hoseyn Musavi of Iran currently here on a three-day official visit held first round of talks with his Polish counterpart Zbigniew Messner Tuesday.

Establishment of peace in the Persian Gulf region, trend of Iran-Iraq peace talks, post-war reconstruction policies of Iran, Afghanistan issue and developments in Eastern bloc countries were discussed in the hour-long meeting.

Prime minister Musavi arrived here at the head of high-ranking delegation Tuesday from a two-day visit to Italy.

The Polish premier expressed the hope that through efforts of the Islamic Republic of Iran peace will soon be established in the Persian Gulf region.

Prime Minister Musavi also hoped that with the help of other countries peace will return to the region in the near future and the Middle East crisis will come to an end.

Prime Minister Musavi referring to Iran's reconstruction policies discussed the areas for bilateral cooperation.

On the Afghanistan issue Premier Musavi expressed the hope that soon a government with a popular backing will come to power in Afghanistan.

Meanwhile speaker of Polish parliament Roman Malinowski met with Prime Minister Musavi and expressed the hope that the visit will open a new chapter in Tehran-Warsaw political and economic relations.

He also announced his country's readiness to participate in post-war reconstruction of iran. Premier Musavi welcomed the idea.

The Polish speaker stressed that his country will vigorously campaign for full implementation of the U.S. resolution 598 on ending Iraq-Iran war.

Second Meeting With Rakowski

LD1901034889 Warsaw PAP in English
2310 GMT 18 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 18—The second day of the official visit by Iranian Premier Mir Hoseyn Musavi to Poland saw the adoption of documents expanding the hitherto cooperation between Poland and Iran.

A second meeting was held today between Premier Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski and the Iranian guest. Plenary talks were also held under the chairmanship of the heads of both governments. Two documents were adopted in their wake. "A record of arrangements made during the visit of the premier of the Islamic Republic of Iran" foresees a return to traditional fields of Polish-Iranian economic cooperation and describes the principles of Poland's participation in the reconstruction and modernization of the Iranian economy. Like in previous years, Poland will handle the construction and modernization of sugar plants, power plants, cold stores and other industrial installations. New fields of cooperation

include the transfer of technology, services in spatial planning, and assistance in the conservation of historical monuments in Iran. The document was signed by Rakowski and Musavi.

Vice Ministers of Foreign Affairs Jan Majewski and 'Ali Mohammad Besharati signed a "Program of cultural, scientific and scientific-technical exchange between the Government of Poland and the Government of the Islamic Republic of Iran for 1989-90." It envisages the exchange of scientists and scholarships, cooperation between universities and scientific-research centres.

In statements for newsmen, both premiers expressed a conviction that with the good will of both sides, the documents will contribute to a decisive revival of mutual relations, their development and tightening. The most important thing is that Iran's premier and his colleages discern possibilities of developing these relations to the advantage of both sides, Rakowski said.

Also today Mir Hoseyn Musavi laid a wreath at the tomb of the unknown soldier in Warsaw. During a break in political talks, he visited the old town district and the royal castle. Asked for his impressions, he replied: "Warsaw is a very beautifil city and its residents painstakingly take care of it. The postwar reconstruction of your capital from ruins goes to show this. I am an architect by profession and that is why I can appreciate the value of this work."

In the evening, Premier Rakowsi treated the Iranian guest to dinner during which both delivered speeches.

Letter of Understanding Signed

LD1901061489 Tehran IRNA in English
0605 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 19, IRNA—A letter of understanding for political, economic, and cultural cooperation was signed between the visiting Premier Hoseyn Musavi of Iran and Polish Prime Minister Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski here Wednesday night.

The document was signed at the end of two rounds of lengthy talks of the prime ministers of the two countries and defines the general framework for future Tehran-Warsaw cooperation.

According to the letter of understanding Poland will increase volume of its oil purchase from the Islamic Republic of Iran. It also calls for transfer of technology and execution of joint projects.

The letter emphasizes balance in bilateral trade and deals mainly with economic, trade and industrial cooperation.

In the political field it calls for cooperation between the parliaments of the two countries and coordination of stances in the U.N. over international issues.

Both sides have also expressed the hope that the U.N. Resolution 598 on ending the Iraq-Iran war and the four-point plan of U.N. Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar will be fully implemented.

Iran and Poland have agreed to expand relations based on mutual respect and non-interference in affairs of one another.

At the end of second round of talks concluded Wednesday night, Prime Minister Musavi who arrived here Tuesday on a three-day visit invited his Polish counterpart to visit Tehran which was welcomed.

Meanwhile first deputy foreign minister of Iran and Poland signed agreements on cultural and scientific cooperation for the next two years.

It calls for granting scholarships by Iranian and Polish universities at Ph.D. level in technical, engineering, Persian language and literature and research fields.

The document stresses participation in international book fairs, film festivals, exchange of books, cooperation of news agencies and radio and TV networks of the two countries and joint athleteic programs.

Received by Jaruzelski

LD2001000189 Warsaw PAP in English
1544 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 19—President of the Polish Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski received today Iranian Prime Minister Mir Hoseyn Musavi, now on an official visit to Poland.

The two referred to the history of Polish-Iranian relations, including the stay of Polish soldiers and officers on the Iranian land during the Second World War, and exchanged views on bilateral relations and key international problems.

Both leaders stressed the necessity to raise cooperation between Poland and Iran to a higher level with particular regard to the economic sphere, pointing to the existing possibilities and untapped potential of the two sides in this respect.

Jaruzelski voiced satisfaction over a ceasefire between Iran and Iraq as well as confirmed Poland's stand on the necessity of integral implementation of No. 598 resolution of the U.N. Security Council and restoration of peace in the Gulf.

Musavi underscored his country's appreciation for Poland's international activeness for peace and security, including the Polish plan of decreasing armaments and increasing confidence in central Europe.

The meeting was also attended by Minister of Commerce A. Vahaji, Deputy Prime Minister in charge of Political Affairs 'Ali Reza Mo'ayeri, Foreign Vice-Minister A.M. Besharati and Iran's ambassador in Poland Abol Fazl Rahnama-Hazavei on the Iranian side and by Foreign Vice-Minister Janusz Majewski and Poland's ambassador in Iran S. Szymczykiewicz on the Polish side.

Holds News Conference

LD2001001389 Warsaw PAP in English
1643 GMT 19 Jan 89

[By Leszek Kubiak and Miroslaw Luniewski]

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 19—Addressing a press conference for Polish and foreign newsmen here, the visiting Prime Minister of Iran Mir Hoseyn Musavi said that relations between Iran and Poland have improved, and especially since the Iranian revolution. He described these relations as strong and lasting.

Referring to the atmosphere of his talks in Poland, he said (it was) warm and friendly. "We have undertaken concrete and good decisions in the economic cooperation," he said and stated that he invited Prime Minister Rakowski to pay for a visit to Iran. The invitation was accepted. He also stressed that the Iranian side sees good prospects for the development of bilateral relations.

The Iranian premier also answered numerous questions. One of them concerned the import of Iranian crude oil to Poland. Asked about the possible quantity of petroleum for Poland, he mentioned one million tons and added that this can be increased and that the problem is to be discussed by the joint mixed commission to meet in Tehran next month. He also mentioned that Iran proposed to export natural gas to this country.

Asked about the Palestinian question, Premier Musavi said that the problem will be solved when all rights of the Palestinian people for self-determination are satisfied and when all territories captured by Israel are given back. He added that the Palestinians should persist in their resistance.

Answering a question on the international policy of Iran, the premier said that his country firmly objects to any interference from the outside, especially from the U.S. "We attach great importance to independence", Musavi said. "We want the best possible relations with all peace-loving nations of the world." He stressed that the Persian Gulf should be free from any foreign military forces.

The Iranian premier also stated that Iran defies the use of mass annihilation weapons including the chemical weapons.

In reply to one of the questions, Premier Musavi stated that Poland has great experiences in postwar reconstruction. "We will use these experiences", he said and stressed that Poland came out in favour of the U.N. Resolution Nr. 598 and of the 4-point plan of the U.N. secretary-general. "We stated that this is just the road along which to proceed", Premier Musavi said.

In the premier's opinion Iran did not experience diplomatic or spiritual isolation. "It is obvious that we consider developing relations with the non-aligned nations all over the world", he added.

Answering another question the Iranian premier said that his country follows with special attention the changes in the USSR and Poland and assesses them favourably. He added that Iran has a common border with the USSR which is 2,500 kilometres long. "The changes should be conducive to strengthening world peace", he said. The withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan was assessed by the premier as a very positive step. He added that the Afghans' future should lie in their own hands. "Our stance is that Afghanistan should be independent and it should maintain relations with her neighbours", he said.

The last question was why the Iranian premier had chosen Poland as one of the first countries to pay an official visit to. The answer was that Iran and Poland have had long and close relations. The economic structures of both countries have much in common. There is a strong political will on both side to develop relations in all domains, the premier said.

Completes Visit, Departs

LD2001103289 Tehran IRNA in English
1010 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 20, IRNA—Prime Minister Hoseyn Musavi left here for Tehran this morning at the end of a five day visit to Italy and Poland, the first to Western Europe by an Iranian premier after the 1979 Islamic revolution.

Musavi was seen off at the airport here by his Polish counterpart Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski.

During his 3-day stay here, the Iranian premier leading a high-powered delegation, held talks with Rakowski, as well as the Polish President Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski and the Parliament Speaker Roman Malinowski.

A letter of understanding was also signed between the two countries which clarifies the general framework for mutual political, economic and cultural cooperations.

In his meeting with Gen. Jaruzelski on Thursday the Polish leader voiced his country's readiness to extend any assistance for the precise execution of U.N. Security Council Resolution 598 calling for an end to the Iraq-Iran war.

He also said Iran's decision in accepting the U.N. resolution in July last year was 'brave'.

On relations between the two countries, Jaruzelski said they both strived for independence and therefore could cooperate in line with their mutual interests.

Musavi in response pointed to post-war reconstruction in Iran and said the two countries could lay a suitable ground for expansion of ties. He also expressed hopes the results of his visit would manifest in a joint commission to be held in Tehran soon.

Meanwhile, in separate interviews, the two prime ministers said their common views on many international issues would mark a turning point in relations between Iran and Poland.

Rakowski Thursday told Iranian reporters that he had held 'useful' talks with Musavi, adding his country was ready to cooperate in Iran's reconstruction directly and practically.

He also said the full implementation of Resolution 598 was the only way to establish peace between Iran and Iraq and return tranquility to the region.

The Polish premier also described as 'very import..' the recent message of Imam Khomeyni to the Soviet leader Mikhael Gorbachev and was confident that Soviet authorities would reconsider some of their policies which he said would definitely have great impacts on international issues.

In another news conference also attended by foreign journalists, Musavi described as 'very bright and strong' the future of relations with Poland.

He said Iran will export one million tons of oil to Poland annually which he beleived could be increased.

Musavi said in his talks here they had also studied the possibility of Iranian gas exports to Poland and some decisions had been made. He did not elaborate.

The prime minister also responded to several questions on Iran's foreign policy, the situation in Lebanon, the Palestinian issue and the Imam's recent message to the Soviet leader.

Musavi Visit Communique Issued

AU2301141989 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21-22 Jan 89 p 2

[PAP headline: "Press Communique"]

[Text] At the invitation of M.F. Rakowski, chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers, Mir Hoseyn Musavi, premier of the Islamic Republic of Iran, paid an official visit of friendship to Poland from 17 through 20 January 1989.

The head of the Iranian Government was received by W. Jaruzelski, chairman of the PPR State Council. He also paid a visit to R. Malinowski, the Sejm marshal.

The chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers and the premier of the Islamic Republic of Iran held two rounds of talks in an atmosphere of friendship and mutual understanding. They discussed bilateral relations, as well as regional and international problems. They positively appraised political, economic, and cultural relations and discussed ways of further developing relations in all areas.

M.F. Rakowski and M.H. Musavi said that relations between the PPR and Islamic Republic of Iran are based on traditions extending over many centuries, as well as on principles of sovereign equality, noninterference in internal affairs, and mutual advantage. They expressed support for continuing to bring the two countries closer together and for the development of comprehensive cooperation between the two states.

The heads of the two governments set out directions for the further development of mutually advantageous relations, including economic and scientific and technical cooperation. They referred to the decisions made at the second session of the Polish-Iranian Ministerial Committee and emphasized the importance of the future expansion of cooperation in various branches of industry, in fields such as the transfer of technology and the construction of power plants, as well as other areas of mutual interest.

The premiers exchanged information on their respective countries' programs for socioeconomic development, as well as on the implementation of these programs in both countries.

Discussing the current world situation, the two sides expressed their countries stances on the need to observe the UN Charter and strengthen international security on the basis of respect for independence and the sovereign equality of states as mutually advantageous cooperation. They expressed support for the policy of detente and, in particular, for East-West disarmament dialogue, as well as for a complete ban on and the elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons.

During an exchange of views on the main directions of the two countries' foreign policies, the two sides emphasized the need to strengthen peace and security, and to deepen the disarmament process and cooperation. They noted that the continuation of disarmament dialogue will significantly increase confidence in international relations and will assist the detente process throughout the world.

The two sides expressed their support for increasing the effectiveness of the activities of the United Nations Organization and its main organs in resolving conflicts between states, as well as in solving the global problems of today's world.

Poland expressed satisfaction at the cessation of hostilities between Iran and Iraq. The two sides expressed support for the full implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 598 of 20 July 1987 as the basis for a just settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict and the restoration of lasting peace in the Persian Gulf. The Polish side expressed the hope that the Geneva peace talks would be speeded up and called for international law to be fully respected in the resolution of existing disputes.

The peace efforts made by UN General Secretary Javier Perez de Cuellar, including his 4-point plan, were highly appraised.

Regional problems were raised during the talks and particular attention was accorded the problem of reducing tension in areas that are beset by conflicts. In light of this, Poland and Iran expressed support for all diplomatic initiatives and actions aimed at eliminating hotbeds of tension and at regulating regional conflicts by peaceful means in accordance with the UN Charter.

The two sides oppose—especially following the establishment of a cease-fire between Iran and Iraq—the continued presence of foreign forces in the region, which pose a threat to stability and security, and they called for a rapid withdrawal of these forces from the Persian Gulf.

The two sides emphasized the need to bring about a rapid and just resolution of the Middle East problem and expressed support for efforts aimed at achieving this.

They pointed to the urgent need to realize the just rights of the Palestinian people.

The two sides voiced their support for multilateral diplomatic efforts concerning Afghanistan and for the Soviet Union's constructive decision to withdraw its forces, as well as for a cessation of fighting in that country and the political resolution of its problems without any kind of foreign interference. They expressed support for an independent, peaceful, and nonaligned Afghanistan, which accords with the will of the Afghan people.

The two sides resolutely condemned the use of chemical weapons, which are banned by the 1925 Geneva protocol, asphyxiating and toxic gases, as well as biological weapons. They condemned the use of chemical weapons by any country in any place. In light of this, they expressed recognition for the declaration that was unanimously adopted at the international conference that was held in Paris in January 1989 and called for the rapid formulation of a convention that would create practical mechanisms for preventing the manufacture, proliferation, stockpiling, deployment, and use of these weapons.

The two sides expressed complete satisfaction with the course and results of the official visit to Poland by the premier of the Islamic Republic of Iran, which marks the beginning of a new chapter in the history of friendly relations and mutually advantageous cooperation between Poland and Iran.

The premier of Iran extended an invitation to the chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers to pay an official visit to the Islamic Republic of Iran. The invitation was accepted with pleasure.

Iranian's Visit Viewed

AU2401120289 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 21-22 Jan 89 p 2

[Zygmunt Slomkowski commentary: "A Step Forward"]

[Text] If state visits fulfill expectations, then the visit to Poland by Prime Minister Musavi certainly has done so, and for several reasons. Traditions, which cast a favorable light on the modernity of our relations, are of great importance. Also important is the fact that both countries hold similar views on many major international issues. In particular, they are both in favor of East-West dialogue, detente, and the elimination of mass-destruction weapons. The visit took place at a time of intensive changes in Poland, which, just like the reform movement in other socialist countries, the Iranian authorities consider to be a process affecting the world situation, especially in the Middle East, which is particularly important for Tehran. Both sides mutually respect their political differences, domestic order, and traditions.

Together, all this meant that the two sides commenced their Warsaw talks with the political desire to expand and enhance our relations, best illustrated by the decisions that were reached concerning economic cooperation. Favorable conditions exist for this cooperation, because Poland and Iran have much to offer each other. There are also objective needs. Iran has entered a phase of postwar reconstruction and economic modernization. Poland wants to expand its exports in order to supply its own market with essential raw materials and products. The details will be agreed on at another meeting of the interministerial committee for economic, trade, and scientific cooperation. However, for the time being, we know that we are going to import Iranian oil, and there are also possibilities of cooperation in the petrochemical industry. We will take part in modernizing or expanding Iranian energy production, shipbuilding, and fishing ports. Such cooperation is also possible in agriculture and the food economy. The reconstruction of war-damaged Iranian cities and villages and the restoration of cultural artifacts also presents a broad field of possible activity for Polish firms and design offices.

One can say that all this involves long-term undertakings that will determine our cooperation for a longer period of time, which presents a real possibility of reestablishing this cooperation at the same level as a few years ago. One can also say that the political climate and permanent high-level contacts will encourage this activity, for visits to Iran by the Polish prime minister and foreign minister have already been announced, and a visit by a delegation from the Iranian parliament is also planned. A good sign for the future of this dialogue is the fact that Poland was on the itinerary of the Iranian prime minister's first foreign visit since the ceasefire last August. It is worth recalling that it is Warsaw that was chosen as the site of the meeting between Prime Minister Musavi and Iranian ambassadors to European countries.

All in all, the Iranian prime minister's visit and Polish-Iranian talks have created a good framework, the filling of which will encourage our cooperation, designed to achieve mutual advantages. A major step forward has been made along the development path of Polish-Iranian relations.

Polish Tourist Beaten Up by GDR Customs Men

AU2001115489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 18 Jan 89 p 7

[PAP report: "GDR Customs Men Beat Up Polish Tourist"]

[Text] A PAP journalist has been informed by the press spokesman of the Main Customs Office that GDR customs men recently beat up a Polish tourist, Mariusz K., on the border crossing point at Zgorzelec. The customs men, who were examining a Lada, damaged one of the vehicle's lights. Our citizen issued a verbal protest, which met with an unexpected reaction from the German customs men. Mariusz K. was pushed, and then beaten. Polish customs men came to our tourist's defense, and the director of the Polish customs point led the injured man across to the Polish side of the border. Polish customs officers witnessed this episode.

Following such a "warm reception" from our western neighbors, Mariusz K. abandoned his foreign trip. At the same time, he said he would complain to the GDR consulate in Wroclaw.

Foreign Ministry on GDR Border Incident

LD2101031889 Warsaw PAP in English 2356 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan 20—In connection with the recent incident at the border crossing in Zgorzelec during which a Polish tourist was physically assaulted by the GDR customs officers, the spokesman for the Polish Minister of Foreign Affairs stated the following:

"The Ministry of Foreign Affairs contacted the Polish Customs Service and the respective GDR authorities on this issue in order to ascertain the circumstances and actual course of the incident. The descriptions of the event reported by the agencies and press of both countries are divergent and even contradictory. In this situation it is necessary that, relying on checked facts, the appropriate services of both sides determined the true course of the incident. Before it comes to the effect, dramatization and stirring up unnecessary emotions around the matter should be avoided. Alas, some press reports were not free from this."

German Compensation for Poles Questioned

AU2101194489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 11 Jan 89 p 8

[Report by PAP Bonn correspondent Eugeniusz Guz: "Surprising Decision by Daimler-Benz—What Is Happening to Compensation for Polish Forced Laborers?"]

[Text] Bonn—On Tuesday, at the headquarters of the Daimler-Benz concern in Stuttgart, there was a ceremonious unveiling of a monument to the 30,000 foreign forced laborers who worked there during the war.

This positive news made me ask Daimler-Benz about the compensation that the concern had decided to pay last June. Out of DM20 million earmarked as compensation for forced laborers, DM5 million was to be paid to Polish forced laborers.

Daimler-Benz' press office told me that most of this money had been placed at the disposal of various West German charities, headed by the Maksymilian Kolbe fund, which are involved in providing various kinds of aid for Poland. This information was confirmed for me in a press communique, in which the Daimler-Benz press spokesman gave a detailed list of the organizations among whom this sum had been divided.

With all due respect for the work of various FRG charities for the sake of Poland, as well as recognition for the commitment of those organizing various types of aid for Poland, it is difficult to suppress one's surprise that Daimler-Benz has paid this money to West German charities. After all, Polish forced laborers have their own source of aid to whom this compensation could have been paid: the "Association of Poles Injured by the German Third Reich."

Various Government Appointments Issued

New Military Official

AU2101211489 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 13 Jan 89 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Chronicle of Cadre Changes"]

[Text] There was a meeting of the Military Council of the Warsaw Military District in Warsaw on 12 January, during which the duties of deputy commander in chief of

political affairs of the Warsaw District were transferred from General of Brigade Krzysztof Owczarek to General of Brigade Leslaw Wojtasik.

Brigade General Leslaw Wojtasik was born on 24 January 1933 in Sosnowiec, Katowice Voivodship, to a family of workers. After finishing secondary school in 1951, he donned a military uniform as a cadet at the Officers Political School. He earned his officers commission as a Polish Youth Union instructor at a military unit of the Pomeranian Military District, from where he was sent to study at the Feliks Dzherzhinskiy Military Political Academy. On completion of his studies there, he became a sociopolitical instructor at the Artillery Officers School in Torun. At the same time, he undertook research work and earned a doctorate in humanitarian sciences in 1969. In 1982 he earned the title of professor.

He then occupied a research post at the Social Research Center, where he resumed his military service in 1970. Later he transferred to the Institute of Social Research, of which he became director.

Since March 1983 he has been deputy chief of the Polish Army Main Political Administration and chief of the Propaganda and Agitation Administration. He has been in the PZPR since 1948.

Foreign Investment Official

AU2201144489 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 13 Jan 89 p 4

[PAP report: "Chronicle of Cadre Changes"]

[Text] The chairman of the Council of Ministers has appointed Zdzislaw Szakuj chairman of the State Agency for Foreign Investments, a new body created by a Sejm act of 23 December 1988.

Zdzislaw Szakul was born in 1932 in Ksiezomierz, Lublin Voivodship, to a family of intelligentsia. He studied at Gdansk Polytechnic, where he earned a degree in mechanical engineering. He commenced his professional life in 1954 as an assistant lecturer at Gdansk Polytechnic. From 1959 to 1962 he worked at the Lenin Shipyard in Gdansk as head of the construction department. Beginning in 1963 he worked at the Cegielski Metal Industries Plant in Poznan in the design office, then as director for engine production, and then as director of the department for fitting and testing ships' engines.

Between 1968 and 1974 he was first sent to Denmark in order to supervise the fitting of exported engines at the Nakshov docks, and later he was sent to the Hindustan Shipyard Ltd. in India. On his return from India in 1974, he worked in the Foreign Trade Office of the Cegielski plant in Poznan, where he is now an exports specialist, authorized to sign contracts. He is an aktivist in the workers self-management body at the Cegielski plant, and deputy chairman of the Poznan Voivodship PRON Council. He also heads a socioeconomic initiatives committee. He belongs to the Society of Polish Consultants, which is engaged in exports of investment resources to and cooperation with foreign countries in the sphere of constructing industrial premises.

He is a Sejm deputy and is chairman of the Sejm Foreign Economic Cooperation Commission. He is not a member of the party. He is married and has three daughters.

Labor Ministry Official

LD2301202889 Warsaw PAP in English 1529 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 23—The chairman of the Council of Ministers has appointed Leslaw Nowacki undersecretary of state at the Ministry of Labour and Social Policy.

Nowacki, 40, received a masters degree in administration at Warsaw University. From 1974 to 1982 he was an instructor and bureau head at the main board of the Trade Union of Transport and Road Workers.

in 1982 he started work at the Ministry of Labour. He has been the director of the Department of the Labour Law since 1987. A PUWP member.

Youth Official Appointed

AU2101193889 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 7-8 Jan 89 p 2

[PAP report: "Chronicle of Cadres Changes"]

[Text] On the recommendation of the chairman of the Committee for Physical Culture and Sports, the chairman of the Council of Ministers appointed Julian Nuckowski to the previously unfilled post of deputy chairman.

Julian Nuckowski was born in 1955 in Przemysl, to a peasant family. He studied at Warsaw University, where he earned a doctorate in humanitarian science. He is the author and co-author of many articles and treatises. He commenced professional work at his alma mater as a senior assistant lecturer in the political systems department of the Institute of Political Sciences, from where he was transferred to the political sociology department. As a teacher, he also occupied other responsible functions, including plenipotiary for student affairs. Since 1982 he has been deputy commander of the Polish Scouts Union. At the same time, he undertook research work at the Institute of Research into Young People's Problems. In the Committee for Physical Culture and Sports he will supervise the implementation of youth policy. He belongs to the PZPR, is married, and has three sons.

Former Premier Cyrankiewicz Dies at 77

LD2101005989 Warsaw PAP in English
2331 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 20—Distinguished Polish politician and workers activist, former Prime Minister and President of the Council of State Jozef Cyrankiewicz died here today at the age of 77.

Cyrankiewicz participated in the defence war of 1939 and later in the resistance movement. He was detained in Nazi concentration camps in Oswiecim and Mauthausen.

After the war, as general secretary of the Polish Socialist Party he rendered great merits in the unification of workers parties. From 1948 till 1971 Cyrankiewicz was member of the PUWP CC Political Bureau, held the post of Poland's premier (1947 and 1954-1970) and vice-premier (1952-1954) and was the president of the Council of State in the 1970-72 period. Member of Polish parliament for many terms, head of the Chief Council of War Veterans Union Zbowid from 1949 to 1972, vice-president of the World Peace Council from 1983. Recipient of the Builder of People's Poland Order, the highest Polish state distinction.

PPR Journalists Association Membership Noted

AU2201210689 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU
in Polish 12 Jan 89 p 2

[PAP report: "Ninety Percent of Journalists Belong to the PPR Journalists Association"]

[Text] On 10 January, Voice of America quoted Stefan Bratkowski, former president of the onetime Association of Polish Journalists, as saying that in his opinion the PPR Journalists Association has no more than 2,600 members, which calls into question the figures that were given by the government press spokesman last Tuesday [10 January].

What is the truth? A PAP journalist put this question to Andrzej Ziemski, general secretary of the main board of the PPR Journalists Association.

A. Ziemski said: "I am surprised for two reasons. First, it surprises me that S. Bratkowski is concerned about the association's internal affairs although he is not a member of it. Second, it surprises me that he is trying to manipulate public opinion by using false information. I get the impression that the main purpose of his actions is to blow up the importance and size of the group of so-called independent journalists. I think that these actions obscure the real picture regarding the problems of Polish journalism and are part of the political struggle that istaking place in this country, and that they cause divisions in our community. One could list a whole series of issues that our association has taken up on behalf of the interests of all journalists, including those who are not members.

"According to statistical information provided by the Main Office of Statistics, there are about 10,000 people working as journalists in Poland.

"At the end of 1988, the PPR Journalists Association had 8,854 full and candidate members, which accounts for almost 90 percent of Poland's journalists. I would like to add that Minister Jerzy Urban was inaccurate in a way that worked to our disadvantage at his last press conference, because he used figures for June of last year.

"It is also worth pointing out that the PPR Journalists Association was established in March 1982 on the initiative of 93 activists of the former Association of Polish Journalists. Today, about 80 percent of former members of the Association of Polish Journalists are members of our association. We group together journalists who subscribe to a variety of political views and ideologies. In line with the resolutions adopted at our second congress, anyone who is actively working as a journalist can join the PPR Journalists Association. Our statistical information, just like the activities stemming from the program, which cover all areas of journalists' lives and work, is no secret, and we make this information public every year."

Soldiers on Soviet Criticism of Rescue Efforts

AU2101192789 Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI
in Polish 9 Jan 89 pp 1, 4

[Interview with Lieutenant-Colonel Marek Brzozowski, leader of the Warsaw rescue team who took part in rescue operations in the Armenian city of Spitak following the earthquake, by Wieslaw Wittman: "Rubble and Weeping"— date, place not given]

[Excerpts] [Brzozowski] When we reached Spitak on the morning of 14 December, what we saw surpassed our wildest expectations. One scene remains etched in my memory; huts situated on practically every street corner containing black, red, and white caskets. Soviet rescuers told us that these were coffins for the victims of the earthquake. [passage omitted]

[Wittmann] Several days after the disaster, many sharp articles and commentaries appeared in the Soviet press, heavily criticizing the way in which the rescue operation and evacuation of people were organized. Apparently, there was a lot of incompetence and even disorder, which made rescue work difficult. Is that true?

[Brzozowski] Yes, it is. We ourselves encountered many obstacles that should not have existed in such a situation. What we technical rescuers needed most of all was detailed documentation showing the layout of built-up areas, which would have made our rescue work more

effective. Unfortunately, none of the local authorities had such documentation. The result was that instead of looking for people in new places, we dug and searched in places that had already been searched hours before. The only thing that guided us was instructions from the relatives of missing persons. [passage omitted]

[Wittmann] How long were you in Spitak? How many men did you have under your command, and whose idea was it to organize this rescue mission?

[Brzozowski] We arrived in Spitak on 14 December, and we stayed there 2 weeks, working 8-10 hours a day. Our group consisted of about 60 people. Some of them were rescuers from Wroclaw and Jelenia Gora, and others were members of the rescue team from the Lubin Copper Basin.

The mission was the idea of the Union of Polish Socialist Youth. In the group directly under my command, everyone without exception deserves the highest recognition. Through the medium of ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI, I would like to thank all our rescuers.

U.S. Newsman Set To Meet Dissident, Expelled

AU2301123989 Paris AFP in English 1232 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 23 (AFP)—Romanian authorities expelled American journalist Peter Klebnikov just before he was about to meet a dissident leader, Mr. Klebnikov said here on Monday after his arrival from Romania.

The Eastern Europe correspondent for the NEW YORK CITY TRIBUNE said he was ordered out on Saturday just as he was to meet Protestant priest Istvan Tokes, at the northern city of Cluj. The priest is a leader of the Hungarian minority that is widely reported to have suffered discrimination at the hands of the Romanian authorities.

Mr. Klebnikov said he was told by political police, the Securitate, that he had six hours to leave the country and would face "serious bother" if he refused.

He said about 15 police cars had followed him as he drove to Cluj.

Press Comments on Paris CW Conference Stance

13 Jan SCINTEIA Article

AU2401084189 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1013 GMT 13 Jan 89

["Socialist Romania Firmly and Steadily Works for Disarmament, for the Elimination of All Chemical and Nuclear Weapons—article published in daily SCINTEIA of January 13—excerpts"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 13/01/1988—The international agenda has recorded these days an event of outstanding importance within the efforts for the attainment of the great desideratum of disarmament, namely the Paris conference on banning the chemical weapons. The ample participation in the conference, of the overwhelming majority of the world's states, accounted for a telling expression of the world-wide preoccupation generated by the existence in the world of huge amounts of mass destruction weapons—chemical, nuclear and other kinds—apt to destroy the whole mankind several times over, to destroy the very conditions of life on the earth.

Socialist Romania, for which the accomplishment of disarmament is a primordial target of its foreign policy, participated in the Paris conference inspired by the wish to fully contribute and support the general cause of halting the arms race, eliminating all mass destruction weapons, the nuclear ones first of all and, in this frame, of banning and liquidating the chemical weapons.

Stressing the importance of banning the chemical weapons, Romania declared at the Paris conference for a global approach to the disarmament issues in the context of the realities of the world today. Realities that utterly differ from those of the year 1925 when the Geneva Protocol on banning the use of chemical weapons was signed. In the meanwhile, as is known, tremendous changes have occured in the domain of arming. Whereas at the time of the conclusion of the Geneva Protocol the chemical weapon was the only mass destruction weapon, the range of mass destruction weapons has grown since, taking on alarming dimensions, especially with the emergence of the nuclear weapons.

Precisely in the light of these realities, Romania, just like a number of other states, sustained at the forum in the French capital the necessity that the issue of chemical weapons be approached in consideration of the current context, when the nuclear weapon poses the greatest threat at mankind. In this respect, the declaration of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania in connection with the final document of the paris conference stresses: "Taking into account the developments in the production of mass-destruction weapons, the emergence of the nuclear arms must be part and parcel of a set of measures aiming at banning the production, storage and use of any mass-destruction arms, of nuclear arms in the first place."

It is with such a comprehensive outlook that Romania stressed the need for firm actions toward the banning of the chemical weapons, their complete elimination from the states' military arsenals and reiterated, in the declaration released, that it remained faithful to its signature on the 1925 Geneva Protocol and would work in keeping with its provisions.

The Paris conference proceeded at a time when the towering feature of international life keeps being the nuclear danger. It is a reality which cannot be shunned, as stressed by Romania as well as by other countries participant in the conference. True, although certain positive steps have been taken, facts show that the spiralling nuclear arming has not been curbed, that action is taken for the achievement of new nuclear weapons, for the improvement of the ones already in existence. At the same time, the conventional arms, the destructive potential of which has grown even more, keep being developed. On the other hand, the policy of force and threat of force keeps being manifest.

In various parts of the world hotbeds of tension and conflict continue to exist, which perpetuate the danger of use of the nuclear weapons, with all the incalculable consequences that might derive from it for the destiny of mankind. These are as many inexorable realities that show that the nuclear weapons are today the main danger spelt [as received] at peace and at the life of all peoples of the world. The removal of these weapons is the most stringent priority of international life.

That is precisely why, according to Romania, the approach to the issue of banning the chemical weapon in close connection with the elimination of the nuclear weapons, of all mass destruction weapons accounts for a

very topical requirement which is in harmony with the peoples' vital interests. The realistic character of this stand is confirmed once more by the fact that a number of non-aligned countries, as well as other countries, stressed at the Paris conference the necessity of a concomitant approach to the issues of nuclear and chemical disarmament. From the angle of this requirement, a number of countries emphasized the fact that the draft final document failed to point to the relation between the chemical weapons and the nuclear ones, and insisted for the maintenance of the extant priorities in the domain of disarmament negotiations, the way they were established in the decisions of the first UN General Assembly special session on disarmament in 1978, which stipulate the necessity of negotiating primarily the banning and elimination of the nuclear weapons.

According to Romania's stand, as set forth also in the statement of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the adoption of any measures concerning the elimination of nuclear, chemical, conventional weapons should set from the need to ensure equal security to all states. It is a reality that the possession of nuclear weapons, of other weapons with a big power of destruction is a permanent factor of maintaining and sharpening tension, that these weapons are an instrument of the policy of force as they can be used as a means of pressure and blackmail against states. That is why, in Romania's outlook the measures of chemical, nuclear, conventional disarmament should complement one another and be applied simultaneously, under a strict international control, so that any possibility of blackmail regarding the use of one weapon or another, the use or threat of force in general should be eliminated. This is the only way of guaranteeing every country's sovereignty and independence, on the grounds of corresponding pledges by all states.

Consistent with this stand, Romania spoke at the Paris conference for the conclusion of a treaty or of a general accord on the prohibition of the manufacture, use and stockpiling of chemical weapons and of a general universal treaty on the liquidation of nuclear and any weapons of mass destruction, the cessation of their manufature and testing which should become effective simultaneously with the convention on the banning of the manufacture, use and stockpiling of chemical weapons.

Romania, which at the Paris conference as well reiterated most clearly its firm attachment to the noble cause of ensuring peace, as a fundamental issue of our times, is determined, as President Nicolae Ceausescu stressed in his New Year message, to further contribute to the achievement of disarmament, first of all to the removal of the nuclear threat, to the building of a better and just world of understanding and cooperation among peoples.

19 Jan ROMANIA LIBERA Article

AU1901165989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1641 GMT 19 Jan 89

["For the Liquidation of Chemical Weapons"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 19/01/1989—A commentary in ROMANIA LIBERA shows that Romania participated in the international conference in Paris regarding the banning of chemical weapons animated by the wish to grant support to the actions meant to contribute to the cessation of arms race and the effective passage to disarmament, to the elimination of all weapons of mass destruction.

The Paris conference, the aforementioned newspaper reads, occasioned a clear reassertion of Romania's stand on the chemical weapons question as well as on the necessity of a comprehensive disarmament programme which should include all mass destruction weapons, nuclear weapons in particular, and the conventional weapons. Romania is part of the protocol in 1925 and pledged to observe those interdictions towards all the other states which had signed them and which observe them in their ties with Romania. Romania also considers it necessary that action should be further taken so that chemical weapons be never used. Emphasizing that the liquidation of chemical weapons can be a valuable contribution to the cause of peace and security only if it is regarded as a part of the general disarmament process which should apply all disarmament measures—in the nuclear, chemical, conventional field—in close connection with one another, the commentary shows that the reason of such an approach, emphasized by the statement of the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania on the adoption of the final document of the Paris conference, derives from the great changes that occurred internationally after the signing of the Geneva Protocol in 1925. The statement establishes a close connection between the banning of chemical weapons and of other categories of weapons, of the other mass destruction weapons and nuclear ones in particular. Stressing the necessity of firm actions for the banning of chemical weapons production, storage and use and for their complete removal from states' military arsenals, and reasserting that it will respect its signature in the Geneva Protocol in 1925, Romania stated in its statement that any decision in that respect should be part of an ensemble of measures aiming at the banning, storage and utilization of any kind of mass destruction weapons, of nuclear weapons first and foremost. In Romania's outlook this complex process of chemical, nuclear and conventional disarmament should start from the ensurance of an equal security for all states, which calls for the removal of any possibilities of blackmail with the use of one or another weapon, the elimination of force and threat of force in international relations, the full observance—based on corresponding pledges signed by all states—of each country's independence and sovereignty.

Showing that Romania declares for the conclusion of a general treaty or accord on the banning of chemical weapons production, utilization and storage and of a general-universal treaty on the liquidation of nuclear weapons and of any kind of mass destruction weapons, the cessation of their production and testing, both documents being to come into force at the same time, the Bucharest newspaper concludes: Romania, which does not possess chemical weapons, will further act to step up the pace of the disarmament conference in Geneva both ways.

Ceausescu Tours Bucharest Industrial Units

AU2301191589 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1841 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Bucharest AGERPRES, 23/1/1989—On 23 January Romanian Communist Party General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, paid a working visit to large representative industrial units in the Romanian capital city.

This new meeting with powerful workers' collectives of Bucharest is part of the Romanian party and state leaders' constant preoccupation with the progress of the productive activity under the best circumstances in all the sectors and branches of the national economy, with the rhythmical materialization of all the plan indices, and particularly of the output meant to be exported, from the very first days of the year, with establishing on site—with the workers and the specialists and the members of the collective management bodies—due measures with a view to taking the entire activity to ever higher stages of quality and efficiency.

Participating in the visit were Emil Bobu, Gheorghe Oprea, Ion Radu, Constantin Radu, Silviu Curticeanu.

Thousands of working people of the enterprises and institutions on the large industrial platform in the southeastern part of Bucharest and residents of the new residential districts built there welcomed warmly President Nicolae Ceausescu.

The visit covered the Romanian cotton mill, the "Republica" pipe manufacturing enterprise and the well-known mechanical engineering enterprise "23 August."

At the end of the working visit President Nicolae Ceausescu met with members of the working people's councils and other representatives of workers, technicians and engineers from those units, with ministers and other leading cadres of relevant industrial centrals and ministries.

During the meeting President Nicolae Ceausescu took the floor.

Ceausescu Meets With PLO Official Faruq Qaddumi

JN1901171789 Sanaa Voice of Palestine in Arabic 1600 GMT 19 Jan 89

[Text] Brother Faruq Qaddumi, head of the PLO Political Department, yesterday met with Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu at the head of a Palestinian delegation.

The Romanian news agency reported that during the meeting, the discussion dealt with a number of issues of mutual interest, particularly the situation in the Middle East. The news agency pointed out that Brother Faruq Qaddumi informed the Romanian president of the latest developments after the proclamation of the independent Palestinian state.

Andrei Receives Soviet Trade Delegation Leader

AU2101185089 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1821 GMT 21 Jan 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 21/01/1989—On 21 January Deputy Prime Minister Stefan Andrei received I.A. Kachanov, first deputy minister of foreign economic relations of the USSR, who is visiting Romania at head of a delegation.

Reference was made to the growth of friendly and cooperative ties between Romania and the Soviet Union in keeping with the understandings reached at top level. The possibilities of expanding production specialization and cooperation in production, of increasing and diversifying mutual goods exchanges were also examined.

The interview was attended by Ioan Ungur, minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation.

Present was Ye.M. Tyazhelnikov, ambassador of the Soviet Union to Bucharest.

The same day, a protocol was signed regarding goods exchanges and payments between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1989.

Moldavian SSR Agriculture Delegation Visits

Embassy News Briefing Held

AU1901193989 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1900 GMT 19 Jan 89

["Press Conference"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 19/01/1989—On January 19, a press conference was arranged at the Embassy of the Soviet Union in Bucharest when A.N. Sangeli, first vice-chairman of the Moldavian SSR Council of Ministers, chairman of the State Committee for the Agroindustrial Complex of the Moldavian SSR, now on a visit to Romania, presented aspects regarding the development of agriculture in that Soviet republic.

Present were Romanian journalists and foreign press correspondents accredited to Romania, representatives of the Ministry of Agriculture, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and the Academy of Agricultural and Silvicultural Sciences.

David, Barbulescu Meet Delegation

AU2001192389 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1833 GMT 20 Jan 89

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 20/01/1989—Over the 15-20 January a USSR delegation headed by A.N. Sangeli first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Moldavian SSR, chairman of the State Committee for the Agroindustrial Complex, paid a visit to Romania.

The guests had talks with Gheorghe David, Romanian minister of agriculture, and saw round production and farm research units in Vaslui, Calarasi, Giurgiu, Timis, Brasov, Prahova, Bacau Counties and Ilfov farm sector.

At the end of the visit, the delegation was received by Vasile Barbulescu, secretary of the CC of the RCP.

Balanced Socioeconomic Growth of Counties Noted

AU1901194489 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1907 GMT 19 Jan 89

["The Development of the Material Base of Equality of Rights"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 19/01/1989—The Romanian policy of harmonious and balanced socioeconomic development of all the country's zones and counties, which reflects in the distribution of the forces of production throughout the national territory, helped bridge the existing gap in the economic development of administrative-territorial units. At present, Romania boasts a modern, territorially harmoniously structured economic complex, which puts conditions in place for a true equality of rights of all the country's citizens.

The changes wrought in the country's economic and social map over the interval are mainly a result of industry, which is omnipresent.

In consideration of postwar realities, the country's industrialization proceeded at paces that differed from one area to the other. In the period spanning 1965-1985 investment in the economy as a whole increased fivefold. As they were streamlined to the faster development of industry in lagging counties, the highest growths were registered in the counties of Bistrita-Nasaud and Mehedinti /14 times/, Covasna, Giurgiu and Vilcea /13 fold/, Gorj, Salaj, and Tulcea /ten times/, Alba, Calarasi, and Vaslui /over seven times/. Consequently, at least four or five industrial centers were created in every county in the past 20 years. The weight of machine building in counties where it had previously been nonexistent or slightly developed increased substantially—from 2.8 to 30.4 per cent in the county of Bistrita-Nasaud and from 2 to 34.3 percent in Teleorman County.

Relevant for the many-sided development of all counties is also the fact that whereas in 1968 only six counties turned out an industrial, agricultural and other production worth 40.1-60 billion lei and only one county topped the 60-billion lei mark, in 1987 total economic activities were worth 40-60 billion lei only in one county, 25 counties boasted economic activities ranging from 60.1 to 100 billion lei and 15 counties topped the 100-billion lei mark. In one year, the county of Mehedinti alone, for instance, turns out an industrial production that is larger than the entire Oltenia's 1965 output, while Iasi County boasts an industrial production larger than the whole of Moldavia's.

The strong industrial development of counties and localities put the country's industrial production 128 times up from 1945. The chemical industry, with units in all counties, increased 1,300 times in the same interval. The steel output went up 120-fold, the production of machine building increased over 500 times, farm production rose more than 9 times, and the consumption fund and the products needed for consumption increased more than 18-fold as against 1950.

Transport, construction, services and the other economic sectors developed in every county. Scientific research, education, cultural activities and health care grew sensibly. Housing and sociocultural construction programmes were carried into effect all over the country. As many as 2.6 million flats were built from the state's funds and hundreds of thousands of dwellings were erected with the population's own money in the past 23 years alone.

As a direct outcome of the creation of that strong productive industrial potential, roughly eight of the total eleven million active people work in industry and in other sectors of activity and over three million in agriculture. At the same time, the pay fund increased roughly sixfold over 1965, going up from 57 billion lei to 315 billion lei in 1988, with the average pay rising more than three times.

In future, the policy aimed at harmoniously developing all the areas and counties in this country will continue at a fast pace. According to the current five-year plan, until 1990 each county will have to turn out an economic-activity volume worth at least 80,000 lei per capita, and 29 countries will top 100,000 lei per capita.

Growth of Working Class in Past Years Reviewed

AU1901165889 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1557 GMT 19 Jan 89

["Romania: Significant Evolution of the Working Class"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 19/01/1989—Romania's economic development was conducive to a numerically growing working class which became preponderant in the country's employed population. While in the 1951-1965 interval the number of the working class increased annually by more than 125,000 persons on an average, between 1965 and 1980, a period during which Romania built a powerful and modern industrial complex, a genuine record was achieved in the workers' growth: over 171,000 persons annually. This evolution led to the workers' growing share in the total of the employed population from about 1,229,000 in 1950 to 3,109,000 in 1965 and more than 6,100,000 now.

The harmonious distribution of the forces of production in the territory was naturally conducive to deep-going changes in the structure of the working class by territorial units. In all counties the workers' number grew mainly in

industry and especially in the areas that lagged behind from an economic point of view. While the workers' average number in the economy rose 1.8 times from 1965, in counties like Salaj, Olt and Vaslui the increase in the number of workers was of 3.1 and 2.8 times.

The dynamics known by the working class is also characterized by significant mutations in its political, professional and cultural training. The number of workers in the key industries increased substantially. The schooling of over four million workers and foremen in the last 23 years and the creation of a solid and modern technical and material base, the broad promotion of the achievements in science and technology in all fields of activity led to the formation of a new social and spiritual profile of workers, to a new working class that grows ever more in to an intellectual working class.

Starting from the highly important role incumbent on the working class in the country's material production in the year of socialism, more particularly in the last two decades, its direct participation in the political and socioeconomic life has steadily extended. As regards the social composition of the party, the composition of the collective management bodies in all spheres of economic and social life, of the revolutionary worker democracy, workers hold a significant place. The workers' share in the party stands at 55.7 per cent. Within the collective management bodies, at the level of enterprises and sections, the workers, foremen and technicians hold a 50 per cent share, at the level of central departments a 33 per cent one and at that of the ministries' management and of the other administration bodies over 25 per cent. [sentence as received]

Leaders' Public Appearances for 14-20 Jan

AU2101180889 [Editorial Report] Romanian media report the following public appearances of Romanian leaders during the 14-20 January period (source of each report given in parentheses):

Manea Manescu, PEC member and vice president of the State Council; Nicolae Giosan, PEC candidate member and chairman of the Grand National Assembly; Suzana Gadea, PEC candidate member; and Ion Ursu, PEC candidate member, addressed a solemn meeting of the Romanian Academy devoted to Elena Ceausescu's birthday, in Bucharest on 14 January. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1958 GMT 14 Jan 89)

President Nicolae Ceausescu received Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen, in Bucharest on 16 January (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1842 GMT 16 Jan 89) (filed as AU1601190189) and received a Japanese Communist Party Delegation on 17 January. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1813 GMT 17 Jan 89). He received PLO's Faruq Qaddumi in Bucharest on 18 January. (Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 18 Jan 89)

Ion Coman, member of the PEC and RCP secretary, conveyed an RCP message to the Portuguese Socialist Party Congress, in Lisbon, on 14 January. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2019 GMT 14 Jan 89)

Constantin Olteanu, member of the PEC and RCP secretary, conveyed an RCP message to the PCE congress, in Madrid, on 14 January. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1930 GMT 14 Jan 89)

Gheorghe Oprea, deputy minister of foreign affairs and RCP Central Committee member, addressed a Balkan meeting in Tirana. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1953 GMT 20 Jan 89)

Ion Dinca, member of the RCP Central Committee and first deputy prime minister, met with a Canadian delegation led by Jack Howett, director general of Candu Industries, in Bucharest on 18 January. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1916 GMT 18 Jan 89)

Minister of Foreign Affairs Ioan Totu welcomed his Chinese counterpart, Qian Qichen, at Bucharest Otopeni Airport, on 14 January (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1938 GMT 14 Jan 89) and saw him off there on 16 January. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1547 GMT 16 Jan 89). Totu addressed the Vienna CSCE meeting on 18 January. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1848 GMT 18 Jan 89)

Ioan Toma, first secretary of the Union of Communist Youth, received a Polish student delegation in Bucharest on 20 January. (Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1951 GMT 20 Jan 89).

Mikulic Defends FEC Policy in Interview

LD1501215689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0956 GMT 15 Jan 89

[Text] Sarajevo, 15 Jan (TANJUG)—I believe that a new FEC would advocate continuation of the successful foreign currency market and recovery of the Yugoslav financial system. I am also convinced that it would advocate implementing the laws on enterprises and on foreign investments and other systemic laws which contribute to realizing the aims of the reform, FEC president Branko Mikulic stressed in an interview to Sarajevo VECERNJE NOVINE, to be published tomorrow [16 January].

In a long interview with Fuad Doric, chief and responsible editor of VECERNJE NOVINE, Mikulic explained reasons for the collective resignation of the federal government; discussed the essence of measures undertaken, primarily those to curb inflation; and commented on some criticism against the FEC and himself.

We shall prepare a report where we shall put forward everything which this FEC has done, what its policy has been, and what its successes and failures have been. We shall present this to the SFRY Assembly. That will be the time to assess whether we have conducted one, two, or more policies, Mikulic said concerning criticism that the FEC had conducted one policy until May 1988, and another after that.

If we had not succeeded in rescheduling a part of the foreign debt, it would have been impossible to adopt the May measures and to start in such resolute fashion toward the market economy, and we would have faced insurmountable difficulties. In that case, perhaps, we would have been forced to adopt a different, "another" policy.

Responding to a question about assessments that the economic policy failed completely last year, Mikulic said that he is aware of these assessments, but does not agree with them. Although there are some reasons for dissatisfaction and criticism that some aims of the economic policy were not realized, such as cutting and curbing inflation, it is unacceptable to express suspicion toward the economic policy adopted by the SFRY Assembly last May.

Mikulic remarked that those who are contesting this policy should say what the alternative is, and he went on to stress that the FEC does not think for a moment that the policy should be questioned in any way. This, of course, does not mean that it should not be developed, improved. I do not know what alternative could be offered instead of that policy, except the 'Khozraschet' principle (state cost accounting).

Mikulic then continued that the essence of the May policy is market orientation—that prices of goods, money, and foreign currencies be based on supply and demand in the market—and opening up the Yugoslav economy to the world.

The May measures are a necessary step toward reform, its component part. Of course, reform is a much more complex undertaking within an economic system.

I do not wish to guess who thinks what, Mikulic noted concerning criticisms of the May measures. However, it is not good that the results achieved in economic relations with the world, especially with countries with convertible currencies, in the functioning of the foreign currency market and those results which show that the process of adopting the economy to new conditions of economic activity has started, are being hushed up.

The next question was about many people's concern about the high rate of inflation. They are quite right, Mikulic answered. We in the FEC are also very concerned about the high rate of inflation. We are dissatisfied because inflation has not been brought down to a lower level. At the 17th and 19th sessions of the LCY Central Committee and on the occasion of tendering our collective resignation I talked about why we did not succeed in doing this.

Replying to a series of questions about inflation, Mikulic stressed our uniqueness and that selfish partial interests, among other things, make it more difficult to reach a consensus on an anti-inflationary program and its implementation. For that reason, it is difficult to reach "a national" program which everyone would implement equally resolutely.

There are several approaches toward curbing inflation. One group favors breaking down inflation with so-called shock therapy: freezing prices, personal incomes, and public spending, and fixing (at a certain level) the dinar exchange rate and interest rates. Others say that we should be satisfied if we keep inflation at the 1988 level.

The third group advocates curbing inflation by keeping production in primary sectors of the economy under direct control, i.e., energy production and transportation, and by setting prices of other goods and services according to market conditions. In addition, according to propagators of that view, imports would be free for production under direct control, and imports would be limited for others...[ellipses as received]

According to Mikulic, this would lead to the economically unsound siphoning-off of earnings from one economic branch to another. And given the different structures of the economy (?in different regions), it would lead to the syphoning-off of earnings from one region to another. This is along the line of saying: Whatever one "steals", one should keep permanently. On the other hand, this would lead to a closing of the Yugoslav

economy and to the strengthening of monopolies in the domestic market. This, like the views about total control and the freezing of prices, is in direct conflict with the autonomy of economic subjects—the primary aim of the reform.

Indirectly answering a question about whether he would have still taken the post of FEC president if he had known then what he knows now, Mikulic said that the chances to succeed are real if we improve the situation in the Yugoslav financial system and thereby create the necessary suppositions for implementing reform, and then overcome systemic limitations with much willingness and accountable labor—all before a new constitution is adopted. We must have a united economic system and Yugoslav market, we must substantially consolidate unity within the LCY and its organs, and we must overcome divisions in society with harmony and unity in action. According to Mikulic, the system of decision-making in organs of the Federation must be more efficient, and organs of the Federation must be treated as one's own—not as no one's or someone else's.

Accepting that for successful FEC activity it is necessary to create the appropriate atmosphere, Mikulic reiterated that this has not happened.

If I knew how much this, among other things, limits possibilities for the successful work of the FEC, I would have thought longer about accepting the post. I am convinced that we shall draw appropriate conclusions from everything that the long-lasting crisis "produced," and that we shall overcome, obstacles blocking the way out of the crisis.

The FEC unanimously decided to tender its collective resignation at a session held 28 December. After that, we informed the SFRY Presidency about our decision, the FEC president recalled. At the same time, he reiterated the reasons for the resignation which he gave at the SFRY Assembly. We made it clear with the resignation that we are convinced of the correctness of the course upon which we decided and that we are not accepting unprincipled solutions and compromises which objectively question that course.

I am convinced that it is high time to face the truth and to realize that the LCY is no longer a united organization, Mikulic said in connection with the question about reflection of the LCY federalization on the work of the FEC. The correct policy about the creation of national parties in 1937, that is, the creation of the LC's of republics and provinces, has become distorted over time, so that now we objectively do not have a united, but in a specific way, a federalized, LCY.

The FEC president thinks that it would be better for both the LCY Central Committee Presidium and the FEC if each did its own work. This means that the LCY Central Committee Presidium should look at the questions with which the LCY should deal, among which is the ideopolitical question of socioeconomic relations and the current economic and social situation, that the FEC should perform the role of the executive organ of the SFRY Assembly, and that it should be held accountable for its work to the Assembly and public.

The biggest problems are, however, caused by disunity in the economic system—for instance, in a very important segment such as taxation. Then there is disunity within the LCY, which means that obstacles to resolving major socioeconomic questions are difficult to remove, and then there are such great divisions in the society. The SFRY Assembly adopts an act on the basis of the Constitution, and then the Presidium of a republican LC Central Committee states that the act has not been adopted on the basis of the Constitution and that it supports a stance on this question adopted by its assembly (Precisely why does an LC organ say this?)

The problem is that we have become "parceled out" to such an extent that in each solution, decision, and account, exclusively "one's own interest" is demanded. What is lost sight of is the whole, and one's own interest within the whole. This is why the organs of the federation are under constant "fire," not only by information media, but also frequently by organs of republics and provinces. That is why the public has the impression that the federal organs are to blame for such things as failed investments, about which republics and provinces usually decide.

When I heard that the LCY Central Committee Presidium would again discuss some questions of the current economic policy, I told Suvar that the FEC would discuss hyperinflation of nationalism, anticommunists' ideological stands, the federalization of the LCY, and other ideological and political questions. I suspect that Stipe [Suvar] thought this was a joke, but I meant it, Mikulic said.

Results of the 19th LCY Central Committee session should be judged on the basis of the adopted conclusions and not on the basis of what someone said, he remarked in connection with different interpretations of part of the introductory speech and some other speeches at that party plenum.

"Separation" of the LCY from the state has been talked about since the Sixth LCY Congress, but when it will actually be on the agenda, I do not wish to predict. The inertia of old practices is still strong.

I think, Mikulic continued, that LCY organs should deal more with the situation in the LCY, current ideological and political tendencies in society, and to act within the system and not as an outside "factor" and arbiter.

One of the remarks was: On one occasion you said that a man can be put in such a situation that he cannot defend himself against slanders?

Yes, I said that, the FEC president confirmed. When someone who is outside the system's institutions is targeted for criticism—that is, to be disgraced, morally discredited, and prevented from being active publicly—then information starts to be collected and fabricated about him and even his family. Their "file" is open, everything is investigated, and half-truths, fabrications, falsehoods, slanders, swindles, and such start to be presented to the public. This is repeated non-stop, and the impression that it is the truth is created. They do not even shun from meddling in family relations. Even friendly relations between people and families become suspicious.

The same criterion does not apply for "chosen targets" and for those who are to be protected. Some are asked to account for the same thing for which others are justified and defended. For some, guilt must be proved, and for others innocence.

Since refuting fabrications does not help, it looks as if the truth must be proved and defended in court. Perhaps this is the right way for the public to find out about all fabrications and falsehoods which are spread about some people, Mikulic thinks.

Having confirmed that he had read the article "He Accused Mikulic" in the latest issue of POLITIKIN SVET, the FEC President said that he will recall only two facts:

First, by quoting a portion of Dzavid Husic's writings about Jura Mikulic, where it is stated "...and he has been a communist since 1919...", Zoran A. Jovanovic in POLITIKIN SVET added two words: inaccurate information. Although I never mentioned the fact that in 1919 Jura Mikulic was a party member, in view of the fact that Jovanovic is denying it, please ask Comrade Kovacevic to find in the archives of Bosnia and Hercegovina the letter by Mr Stanivukovic, manager of the Gornji Vakuf District Office, to the provincial government in Sarajevo (no 96, dated 14 April 1920). The subject of the letter is "the antistate activity of the Bolsheviks", enclosing "a list of communists, members of the Glas Slobode Group." The name of Jura Mikulic is among the eight communists on the list, so Dzavid Husic did not invent the story.

Second, on the basis of a document from the Ustasha Office in Bugojno, dated 8 June 1941, asking for a district to be formed and a district governor of Western Bosnia to be appointed in Bugojno, Jovanovic wants to benefit from the report that at that time Jura Mikulic was an Ustasha official in the Municipality of Gornji Vakuf. I already knew of this document and that Jura Mikulic's name is mentioned in it. I also know that I will make Jovanovic sad by stating that Jura Mikulic's signature was forged; this has been confirmed by graphological experts. In addition, Jura was not exactly an unknown person, and it would have been general knowledge during the national liberation struggle if he had any connections whatsoever with the Ustasha Movement. Unfortunately for Jovanovic, as early as mid-1942, Jura Mikulic was a member of the National Liberation Committee in Podgradje as well as a member of the Gornji Vakuf Municipal National Liberation Committee. In 1943 he was the chairman of the Bugojno District National Liberation Committee, a delegate to the regional antifascist council of the national liberation of Bosnia and Hercegovina, and of the AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia], a member of the executive committee of the regional national liberation committee for Bosanska Krajina, etc... Could he have been somebody who had any connections whatsoever with the Ustashas?

Why the Ustasha authorities produced that forgery would not be difficult to explain, but that can be done on another occasion.

However, what is very interesting are the motives of Jovanovic and of those who stand behind him, prompting them to engage in a ceaseless campaign against myself and my family. The culmination of this is the article about my father in POLITIKIN SVET, as if there is a wish, after almost fifty years, to bring back the ghosts of the past. "Religious and national antagonism tore my heart apart and I considered it to be our biggest problem, but I believed in the strength of the Communist Party which by and large resolved that problem during the war", wrote Jura Mikulic in his memoirs of the second AVNOJ session (HOW NEW YUGOSLAVIA WAS BORN, book two, page 34).

Remmebering Jura Mikulic, Mesud Hotic, a general and the recipient of the "1941 badge," and the person who organized the uprising in that area, wrote as follows:

"Although a segment of the Croat people entertained illusions about the creation of the "new state," Jura did not entertain such ilusions. He held the new authorities in contempt and sharply denounced their fratricidal policy. When the notorious Ustasha thug Branko Kustro came to take up the office of district head in Gornji Vakuf, Jura was under a threat of death, and he had to leave Gornji Vakuf and his village to seek shelter from Ustasha terror in Zavidovici, where he stayed until mid-1942."

You see, this is what Jura Mikulic was. He was not the sort of person which Jovanovic is trying to show him to be.

Question: It is claimed that at the time of your election as FEC president, an agreement was arrived at in the Bosnia and Hercegovina leadership that in case of your resignation, you would obtain an appropriate political office in the republic.

This is pure invention. When I was the candidate for the office of FEC president, I was a member of the SFRY Presidency. During my talks with the comrades in Bosnia and Hercegovina, I said that it could well happen that I would resign if I came to the conclusion that some of the economic policy objectives could not be fulfilled or if other circumstances forced me to do that. In view of the fact that at that time I had not met retirement conditions, I asked that my personal income be ensured until the expiry of my term of office. No place of work in Bosnia and Hercegovina was ever discussed.

Asked how to put an end to intrigues and suspicions, Mikulic replied:

By creating the social conditions and by developing the democratic freedoms for genuine social criticism, I thereby imply a principled, consistent, and relentless criticism of everything which is retrograde, the criticism which does not spare anything or anybody, but which does not sink below human dignity.... Everyone is entitled to speak the truth about every social phenomena, institution or individual. However, one should be accountable for lies, half-truths, deception and slander—no matter where it was uttered or written, or else we could experience the end of democracy and go back to a situation in the development of our society, which has been overtaken by history.

Mikulic then said he thought that a great deal on the surface of our societal life does not happen accidentally. To a large extent, it is a consequence of the critical perception of the actual reality in our country, which no doubt is very complex. Quite rightly, this is perceived in terms of the policy pursued during the past decades. This critical review was ushered in by socialist forces. The review has been necessary; however, perhaps because it was not organized and pursued well, forces have appeared on the scene which want to bring down everything we have created together with Tito. On the other hand, the socialist forces have become "confused," perhaps out of fear of slowing down the democratic processes. The result is that nationalist and other right-wing and anticommunist forces have experienced something they have never dreamed of: They can legally operate against the achievements of the revolution in the institutions of the system—on various platforms, in a section of the press, and elsewhere—stressed the FEC president.

On the other hand, various personal "little accounts" from the past and the ambitions of the individuals and the ambitious within the leaderships have taken them to the scene of unprincipled personal settling of old scores. Of course, what is involved is a struggle for power and influence in specific organs and environments.

This is why the way out is not in keeping silent but in a democratic dialogue, in the struggle for truth even under the most unfavorable conditions and concerning everything and everybody, without exception. Those who fight have a chance of winning battles, said Branko Mikulic in his VECERNJE NOVINE interview.

Suvar Discussed Prior to LCY Session

LD2301220189 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2114 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, January 23 (TANJUG)—Two days ahead of the 20th session of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee, polarization in Yugoslavia is becoming more evident concerning the responsibility of the Yugoslav Party leadership and its president Dr Stipe Sivar for the serious economic and political situation in the country and the Kosovo crisis, in particular.

While a number of meetings in the Republic of Serbia today demanded that the party leadership and its president Dr Stipe Suvar be called to account for the dramatic situation in the country and the division in the party, the Republic of Croatia, from which the party president originates, gives full suport to the LCY and its president and demands the names of all those who "create chaos and anarchy in the country".

The session of the city committee of the Belgrade League of Communists (which gathers 250,000 members) assessed that the problems in the country, and especially the change of the leaderships of Vojvodina and Montenegro (brought about by the people rallying in the streets), prove that the federal leadership is not capable of coping with the situation. The party leadership and its individual members have lost the trust of the people, because, it was stated, of their inability to implement their own conclusions, because of resistance to democratic and revolutionary change and attempts to set off the Yugoslav peoples and nationalities against each other.

The Belgrade City Committee and the workers and communists in a number of towns in Serbia over the past few days called for LCY President Stipe Suvar to be replaced.

He is accused of being responsible for the slowness in the implementation of party conclusions concerning a solution to the crisis in Kosovo, for attempts to confront the people of Serbia against those of Montenegro and Macedonia, for the unjustified support to the leadership of the Republic of Montenegro which was toppled after the people of Montenegro again took to the streets this January. Finally, he is criticized for distancing himself from the people who are justified in taking to the streets to demand their rights, since they are unable to achieve them within the institutions of the system.

The war veterans of Titograd today stress that the "justified anger and revolt of the people" took place because the people wanted to rid themelves of the "opportunistic" passive and divided leadership", in which the the Yugoslav State and Party leadership also had a hand. [quotations marks as received]

The war veterans of Titograd opposed the theses from the northern parts of the country which claim that people allegdly revolted against the achievements of the revolution and the constitutional systems, and stressed that this was a revolt against those who had brought the country into a crisis.

In Croatia, at a meeting of an alliance of towns and communes of the republic, at meetings in organizations of war veterans of Dalmatia, in communal committees of the League of Communists and other meetings, unanimous support was given to the LCY CC, its leadership and president, to persevere along the lines of preserving the Yugoslavia of Avnoj (war parliament of Yugoslavia), self-management, brotherhood and unity.

Demands were made for the Central Committee to clearly raise its voice against the "wave of destruction" and unjustified campaign to which LCY President Suvar is exposed to, who was said to be a Yugoslav politician acceptable to all.

Meetings in Croatia have demanded that the republic's League of Communists take a stand on controversial issues, including President Suvar's assessment that nationalism is on the rise country-wide and that greater Serbian nationalism has escalated in Serbia.

Calls have been made for the League of Communists to persevere along the paths of democratization and reform.

Calls for accountability of the Yugoslav Party leadership were also made in Montenegro this month after the fall of the republican leadership, and spread to the Republic of Serbia and the Province of Vojvodina. These calls were officially adopted at the special League of Communists of Vojvodina conference and make it obligatory for the Central Committee to discuss them.

However, President Suvar said two days ago that he had no intention of resigning.

The party statute and regulations on the work of the Central Committee do not envisage replacements, but only resignations and relieving of duty members of the highest bodies of the League of Communists.

LCY Presidium Plenum Scheduled for 30 Jan

LD2401104689 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1025 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, 24 Jan (TANJUG)—At a session last night, the LCY Central Committee Presidium decided to move the date of the next, 20th session of the LCY Central Committee by a few days due to essential preparations, and to hold it on 30 January this year.

As was announced earlier, at the session the Central Committee will consider the current political situation in the country, the situation and relations in the LCY, and the work and responsibility of the Central Committee and the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

Need for Extraordinary LCY Congress Voiced

LD1501152489 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1420 GMT 15 Jan 89

[Text] Belgrade, Jan 15 (TANJUG)—If there were dilemmas at the first League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) conference (May 1988) and even the 17th LCY Central Committee meeting (October 1988) whether or not an extraordinary party congress was needed, its holding now seems to be a political inevitably.

The situation in the country and the LCY is such today that the prudence can hardly be questioned of those who synthesize the dramatic general crisis with the following words: Better an extraordinary congress, than extraordinary measures.

Matters are becoming very serious. Yugoslavia has been left without a government and the way we are seeking a new one is not at all encouraging. Meanwhile, the country is sinking into an ever deeper crisis. No one even dares to predict the inflation rate, unemployment is rising, the standard of living continues to fall. Reforms are being spoken about, while in practice the behaviour of the majority is against the reform. The awareness has still not ripened in all parts and among all people that Kosovo, where the Albanian nationalist and separatist activity is not abating, is the entire country's common tragedy which can only be resolved by the entire country.

The crisis is global—economic, political and moral—both in the country and the party, and in many leaderships.

There is practically no party leadership in three federal units—the Republic of Montenegro and the Provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo. The party and republican leaderships in the fourth unit—the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina—have been shaken by a number of scandals.

In the meantime, three previous LCY presidents have stepped down from the political scene. Three members of the top party body have or are about to step down.

The authority of the LCY leadership is in a serious crisis, as well as the authority of the League of Communists itself. Its ranks are thinning, and the LCY is becoming less and less attractive to young people and workers.

A multi-party system is being introduced in Yugoslavia through the back door, spontaneously, deliberately, directly or indirectly, but surely. It is a debatable matter whether or not that is inevitable for this country. There

is no doubt, however, that the LCY, which has meanwhile turned into a federalized party organization itself, has substantially contributed to this.

Matters have obviously reached a critical point, but a part of the international press exaggerates when it speaks about the "civil war syndrome" in Yugoslavia and asks more and more often if Yugoslavia will "survive." Things have certainly not gone that far, because this does seem to be the last chance solely for the present generation of Yugoslav officials, not for Yugoslavia itself. It will survive this, just as it has in its history survived many other, more difficult troubles.

So, it is not a matter of whether the next congress will [be] held a month or two sooner or later, or if it will be called extraordinary or regular 14th congress. The essence of the matter is that the LCY, as the society's leading ideological force, must urgently make a turn in the current crisis, stop the dangerous chaos and hopelessness in which all fronts and all dilemmas are open, including the most dangerous ones—the nationalistic.

An extraordinary LCY congress and extraordinary republican party congresses may lead to two essential things. First, the election of new, rejuvenated and uncomprised leadership, in an absolutely democratic way through open candidate lists and secret balloting, from elections for congress delegates to the election of members of the top party organ.

Second, the congress would have to adopt the basis of a programme which would open up prospects for the people of Yugoslavia, as a relatively rich European country, to work and live as the majority of others on the continent to which it belongs. There are conditions for this in the human and natural resources, as well as in the things we have achieved over the past decades.

The process of the LCY's transformation, for which the party has already opted, and the transformation of the delegate system, which would also have to be urgently renewed in the most possible democratic way, could put a full stop on the current crisis and open up prospects for the country's further development and reform.

For Yugoslavia, for its younger generations turned towards the modern world and the 21st century, this is the most pressing task at hand.

Slovenia LC Central Committee in Session

Prosenc Gives Address

LD2301214389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1049 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Excerpts] Ljubljana, 23 Jan (TANJUG)—' The current problems and events could have far-reaching consequences on the nature and substance of relations in Yugoslavia and on the role of the LCY. Despite all attempts and endeavors, the LC has not managed to concentrte its attention and joint social attention on implementing the economic reform, and on a gradual way out of the economic and political crisis," stressed Milos Prosenc, secretary of the Slovenian LC Central Committee Presidium, during today's session of the Slovenian LC Central Committee. The session, which is devoted to the current ideopolitical situation in Slovenia and Yugoslavia, has been convened in connection with preparations for the upcoming session of the LCY Central Committee.

Prosenc stressed that the situation is not identical in all the republics and the two provinces. However, the problems and the tensions which have piled up have everwhere raise the question of the quality of socialist and self- management development in Yugoslavia. Having pointed out the most serious economic and social problems—high inflation and the deteriorated economic position and of social activities—Prosenc said that the conflict between the developed and underdeveloped areas in Yugoslavia is assuming new dimensions.

"Because the assembly system has not been developed adequately, Prosenc added, the resulting consequences have been shifted to intranational relations, where very often there is a breakdown of any rational dialogue. Nor have the conditions in Kosovo changed to any substantial degree, while major differences and contradictory views on the development of the political system in the country persist, especially as far as relations in the Federation are concerned. Something similar also applies to the processes of the general social role and relations within the LCY".

According to Prosenc, antisocialist and anticommunist ideas in all the areas in Yugoslavia, including Slovenia, are a consequence of all these problems. First and foremost, nationalism is waxing strong as a result of the fact that citizens less and less identify themselves with the policy and policies which compensate their powerlessness by overemphasizing the national aspects. So, Prosenc said, in Slovenia there is the topical question, whether we shall construct our vision of social development on the premises of the conference of the Slovenian LC or whetehr the existing Slovene consensus for this development will change—not into the political pluralism of a democratic association of socialist development wishes and program, but into an arena of ideological confrontations—and whether the whole thing will in fact develop into excessive squabbles and preoccpation with ourselves. [passage omitted]

We do not want to be and we are not a party which maintains a monopoly over what is progressive, Milos Prosenc added, stressing that it is a fact that the LC is subjected to fair criticism. The fact is, he said, that some people would like the LC to be—and this can be deduced from discussions and polemics in Slovenia—rigid and fierce so that when the arrows of criticism are released

the target can be bigger. Those who do not have a program of their own need to fight against someone, but this does not resolve the social problems.

The crises has developed to the point whereby our society can no longer hesitate on the crossroad between the present situation and the required reform without running the risk of aggravating class, national, ecological, civilization, generation, and other contradictions, pushing us into the collapse of the legal political system, its subjects and institutions, and of placing us in an emergency situation with unforeseeable consequences for the future of all, Prosenc stressed. This is why, according to him, the impending session of the LCY Central Committee will in essence be a difficult continuation of the 17th session of the LCY Central Committee.

Prosenc went on to stress that at the moment, in conditions of a social crisis, economic, social, and political contradictions in the country are manifested most explicitly through intranational, that is, through interrepublican and provincial tensions. Two entirely different, and in many respects, contradictory, views on the way out of the crisis and the future development of relations in the Federation are being fashioned with increasing clarity, "while elsewhere, changes as vital as those in Montenegro and Vojvodina are taking place, and while a dangerous vacuum, almost anarchy, is being created at the federal level in our republic. In particular, in the context of the ideas about new political alliances, some introverted views are emerging as if these events do not concern us at all," Prosenc said.

It cannot be a matter of indifference to Slovene Communists what Yugoslavia will be like tomorrow. We wish to actively participate in its creation, despite a series of events which are in fact attempting to prove that in Yugoslavia successful development and equal coexistence among nations and republics is not possible, said Prosenc. He also stated that an unbelievable lack of any sense of the realistic relationship between forces in Yugoslavia and of any judgement as to who are the authentic advocates of reform and allies in the construction of a socialism which suits people is being shown today by those people who are denigrating the organs of the Federation and individuals in them.

Turning to the discussion on the new constitutional system, Milos Prosenc said that the Slovene LC would resolutely oppose any attempt to have anyone's will or economic and political decisions imposed by those who are negating the feasibility and progress of self-managing socialism, reviving a conservative plan, and offering "proofs," as though on a plate for assessments about counterrevolution and separatism in Slovenia, which are in fact untenable.

In the area of intranational relations and improving the Federation, which are the main causes of political tension in the socio-economic sphere, association is at the moment being shown to too great an extent only as the result of "interstate" cooperation, while there is an undervaluing of the progressive association of economic and other factors on the basis of economic logic, continued Milos Prosenc.

Prosenc stressed that the Slovene LC would oppose proposals which would, by means of outvoting or majority rule in the federal organs, or in some other way, establish a centralist state structure which would only be visibly effective, but which would in truth only prevent a more rapid development and encourage separatist aspirations in all parts of Yugoslavia.

This is why the events in Montenegro are also an integral part of our reality, said Prosenc. Today we may conclude that the fresh outbreak of dissatisfaction arose because of an incomprehensible slowness and indecisiveness among responsible people and institutions in determining and removing the problems which had already caused protests by dissatisfied people. No one doubts that the dissatisfaction in Montenegro is justified, added Prosenc, recalling in this connection that the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium pointed to the possibility of the abuse of this dissatisfaction, and to methods of pressure which made it impossible to respect legality in establishing the responsibility of the bearers of social functions, and which prevented any real establishment of what were well-founded criticisms of alienated state and party structures, and what was an unreasoned program against all institutions of the system and against reform processes under way in Yugoslavia and Montenegro.

Going on to speak about the rapid changes on the 'political map' of Slovenia, in other words, the transformation of political pluralism, Prosenc said that any prevention of the processes which have begun would have serious consequences for the fundamental program of the LC: for socialism as a contemporary cultural achievement.

We understand those aspirations which argue that the pluralism of ideas, plans, programs, and projects is essential to creating democratic agreement among the majority of the Slovene people, said Prosenc. "However, we reject them as a means for total division and confrontation within it. Those who claim that the process of democratization and political pluralization in Slovenia has been forced are deceiving themselves, as are those who claim that we have been pushed into it by initiatives for founding new political alliances. In fact, the opposite is true. We undertook this process consciously even before the 10th Slovene LC Congress, as the result of our own findings".

The LC does not see competition for its social role in political pluralism, but rather, competition to formulate the best solutions for development and other issues, said Milos Prosenc. In this respect, we will not have a monopolistic, formally secured position, which has brought us considerable harm, since it has blunted our spirit of initiative. The LC calls for freedom of political association

in keeping with the Constitution, and real democratic political space into which all political factors can direct their initiatives and activities within a developed and renewed socialist alliance. In this way freedom is possible for alternatives and the convergence of opinions in seeking the best solutions and answers to numerous existential and development issues. If the course of events does not move in this direction, said Prosenc, then it will necessarily strengthen aspirations for a multiparty or single party social system. The processes of political pluralization are therefore not a one-off episode.

In our public political sphere much initiative is being shown. It would be a good thing, said Prosenc, if pluralism of initiative and pluralism of forms also brought with it a pluralism of responsibilities, so that certain specific problems in society could be resolved, which would increase the social usefulness of this diversity in order that it does not become simply an aim in itself.

Kucan Delivers Speech

LD2301233089 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1758 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 23 Jan (TANJUG)—The Central Committee is conscious of the exceptionally difficult political and social situation in which both Yugoslavia and the LCY finds itself, Milan Kucan, president of the Slovene LC Central Committee Presidium, stressed in his closing speech at a session of the Slovene LC Central Committee. He said that it is conscious of the danger of a complete split coming about, which would be difficult or impossible to overcome. Hence the Slovene LC Central Committee, Kucan stated, has not advocated an orientation which means the deepening of the already existing split, but the necessity of fairly and squarely facing up to some worrying facts, primarily the process of a quiet transformation—supported or at least tolerated by parts of the LC—of the SFRY into some other kind of Yugoslavia with a different social order and with a different political orientation from that embodied in the Anti-Fascist council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia [AVNOJ], which is the result of the historical agreement among the majority of our nations and nationalities and the LCY and the Slovene LC.

This is why the Slovene LC Central Committee has advocated, Kucan stressed, summarizing today's debate, that at the forthcoming session of the LCY Central Committee the necessary effort be made to specify those points which are a condition for the LCY to be directed away from barren mutual conflicts and accusations about who is destabilizing and threatening the Yugoslav community more, and toward the formation of convincing, realistic, optimistic, and stimulative visions; in other words a program of common development, which is the only thing which can be a real basis for the successful development of life together and the self-confirmation of peoples in such a heterogeneous multinational community. We can call this the program of the battle for Yugoslavia and for a socialist federative Yugoslavia which, in our assessment, is at this moment under a great threat.

This is in fact the stand, he specified, which means that here one should persevere with the stands of the 13th congress, the 17th session of the Central Committee, and especially the LCY conference, with its commitments to a strategy of reform. This is a standpoint which requires that a one-sided and arbitrary interpretation of this strategy—behind which there now lie very big differences or even the sabotaging of these conclusions, in other words the emergence of some new LC which has no legitimacy in the orientations of the conference—not be permitted. The LC must demonstrate, Kucan said, whether it is capable of overcoming the impasse in development, in other words whether it is capable and ready, or else it will show and prove itself to be barren in terms of development.

Our LC today, Kucan stressed, has not advocated some kind of platform of polemical riposte to what could be heard at the dispatch box at the Vojvodina LC Conference, and which had extremely unpleasant tones, tones which are unacceptable for relations in the LC and generally. This is a matter of things which are too serious and dilemmas too crucial for time to be lost in fruitless polemics. Here Kucan drew attention to the fact that among other things, this is very much stimulated by all kinds of separatist thinking and nationalist, anti-Yugoslav, anti-socialist, and anti-communist thinking, which also exists on the public political scene in our republic.

Milan Kucan continued by stressing four points being put forward by the Slovene LC Central Committee which should link creativity and LC action. In question is the forming of a joint platform of struggle for Yugoslavia, for the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, an equal community of our nations and nationalities for whose development no one nation is more responsible than any other. Not a single nation in this democratic community has the right to call itself a bastion of the Yugoslav spirit and to place itself side by side with the JNA. The battle for Yugoslavia, for its socialist identity, and for its future cannot be separated from a definition of the program of socialism as the main linking factor in our community, stressed Kucan. This is a task which must be concluded by an LCY congress.

Without agreement on the answer to that question, said Kucan, discussions about the responsibility and replacement of the LCY Central Committee, of its Presidium, and the Presidium President are meaningless. Without this, he said, it is merely a settling of accounts between people to serve their personal power, and we will not take part in that struggle, nor will we be actors in it. On the other hand, Kucan continued, it is a question of

encouraging the process of democratization and opening up political space for people's initiative, and a question of the so-called citizens' initiative, with their organized forces. In Kucan's opinion the future of Yugoslavia is unavoidably connected with the democratic evolution of the community. Yugoslavia can simply only be a democratic community, a socialist and self-managing community, or it will not be at all, Milan Kucan said explicitly.

A democratic community is the only alternative to a restrictive and a mutual, suicidal, mindless settling of accounts. Political pluralism does not necessarily or exclusively demand a struggle for power among large parties, said Kucan, stressing that initiatives in this connection could not be answered with anathematizing, condemnation, expelling, and banning, which were the ways in which some wish to define the initiators of these alliances, precisely in relation to the LC and Communists. It should be stressed, said Kucan, that we do not wish to return to a one-party or a multiparty society. From political pluralism we are seeking more, primarily more freedom for everyone, more right to diversity.

The intensified renewal in the LC is also very significant to enable it to be a force of unity which stimulates such ideas and practical conduct which are conducive to socialism as a civilized value. This should take us to the stage at which the LC is not seen as a particular party opposed to other workers and parties, and at which Communists do not have particular interests divorced from the interests of the whole proletariat. We should abandon, Kucan maintains, everything that still makes us a special party or a party opposed to other parts of the political system.

This pluralism of ideas which has surfaced outside and within our domain should not be seen by Communists as a competition for their own position, which is, in its many facets, still ideologically and politically a monopolistic one. This is the beginning of something that we ourselves call the proreform alliance, the possibility for coalitions. It is an idea of the action which is being created within the constitutional range, that is, within a socialist, self-management bloc of political forces which are linked by their aims through the socialist alliance, and which take as their basis and framework the Constitution, which is understood as and founded on the common social agreement on socialism, self-management, and Yugoslavia as a socialist, self-managing, democratic community of its nations and nationalities. This concord, Kucan believes—which is the constitutional basis of the social system and development—is the foundation of the state with the rule of law and democratic society.

We are obliged to respect and safeguard it and not to misuse it so as to take away its authority for the sake of interests which are not always very principled. By doing this we are diminishing our chances for a successful resistance to those who contribute nothing new to this pluralistic politicalistic scene but hatred for everything around them, revenge, anti-communism, and odium. Nevertheless, Kucan added, these things were also in abundance at meetings here in Ljubljana, for example, on the establishing of the Slovene Democratic Alliance, which is just the other side of the same development futility that has been produced by the monopilistic position of the party within society.

Under point four, Milan Kucan drew attention to the fact that we are faced with a situation in which people do not trust the institutional political mechanism, so that we might, via it and its institutions, affirm our interests. However, people are trying to affirm them without regard to the institutions and via individual leaders and groups which represent them, without regard to the institutional network of the legitimate system, and the extremely critical attitude toward them. This is happening, in Kucan's view, throughout Yugoslavia and also in Slovenia in various ways and with differing contents. Critical supervision as well as public supervision over the work of the state, its organs, and the organs of repression should be much greater, democratized, and also institutionalized. This is a constituent part of our advocacy of the state's rule of law, but in a way which renders us as a society incapable of carrying out defense and security functions, with a disqualified prosecutor's office, judicial system, police, army, state security, and people who work in these departments. This behavior will only destabilize the state, or rather society, and the conditions of instability will not be able to satisfy our wishes for democracy, but will rather contribute to that great organized chaos, which will then be used by somebody as a justification for the establishment of grand order.

In this framework Milan Kucan stressed that all these things are occurring as a result of disagreements, differences, conflicts, and interests within the LC and among leading Communists, although this takes on the appearance of conflicts between the interests of peoples. It is a matter of this, but also of something else. In fact, owing to incompetence or, to put it better, unpreparedness, in resolving these conflicts democratically within the LC, as an internal party confrontation and as an interest-based and ideological settling of accounts, these conflicts become a matter for all of society and shake, destabilize, and paralyze the system as a whole.

I believe, Kucan said, that we Communists do not have the right to project our disagreements and ideopolitical settling of accounts onto the whole of society, make them a matter for society as a whole, and paralyze the activity of the state and its functions in view of the fact that members of the LC and its organs are in these posts. This is an impermissible error vis-a-vis our poeple, society, and the system. Where politicians are neither prepared nor capable of confronting their concepts and of discussing differences in public, this leads sooner or later to an impasse. The poverty which follows this compels a public settling of accounts, initially on the streets with slogans, and afterwards I fear, maybe also with arms, Kucan said.

According to Kucan this is the consequence of "extra-marital ties" which the LC still maintains with the state executive apparatus. [words indistinct] and also the political conclusion from this situation therefore is that a consistent and definitive decision by the party as the executive state authority is needed. This must operate regardless of how we will succeed or fail in the LC with the resolution of our internal conflicts. Unless this happens, the state's rule of law does not exist and there is neither constitutionality nor legality and there is no protection of the rights of people and nations, nor of the normal life of this society, which ensure the operation of the system and its individual institutions and subsystems. If this does not operate, then society is in a state of emergency, something which demands emergency measures and the disqualificaiton of the system, including the regular system of responsibility.

Recalling that they had expressed profound disagreement with this as far back as the 17th session, Kucan said that since that time, things have consistently been moving in this direction. In practical terms we are in an emergency situation. Before our eyes, with the will or at least the assent of part of the LC and the leaderships, or to put it more precisely, of individuals, a quiet transformation is taking place in Yugoslavia which is changing the character of Yugoslavia. It is not events relating "merely to the people and the working class" which are happening, but some other Yugoslavia and some other political system is occurring and being born. In the emergence of this system and of this Yugoslavia, Slovene Communists do not wish to participate, and will do everything to end this folly and take away the legitimacy from this tendency, at least in the LCY.

It is vital, Kucan stressed, that we be conscious of our share of responsibility so that we prevent a split and the deepening of the crisis, and contribute to the formulation of common democratic development in a socialist and modern society. Kucan also added that the undoubted orientation is for Yugoslavia, not for any Yugoslavia, but for the one described at the conference in terms of continuity of the understanding of the Yugoslavia of AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council for the National Liberation of Yugoslavia] and of the Liberation Front. We cannot construct a better society on hatred, distrust, taking things from others, and confirmation at the expense of others. For such a project, we are prepared to invest all our forces, but we want this to be a modern, civilized, European, socialist, and self-managing, non-aligned state. It is only in this way that we, together with all progressive peoples and on the basis of equality with them, are capable of halting the destructive avalanche threatening Yugoslavia, Kucan stressed.

However, he said, it is up to us whether, in mutual contacts and better mutual understanding and respect, we each resolve our own and common problems and remove the distrust which, in some environments, is already seen publicly, and agree on joint activities.

This, according to Kucan, will be an opportunity to explain things which have been renounced for the last few months and which concern developments in Slovenia and the LC of Slovenia. That is why, Kucan proposed, that all the Presidiums of the Central Committees of the republics and the provincial committees in provinces should be invited to talk with us, as we have done with the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee, unfortunately without a true response.

Proceeding from this, Kucan noted the two key objections which, at least according to the articles published by POLITIKA, are addressed at the Slovene and party expense: The alleged lack of understanding for the efforts to resolve the Kosovo problem and for the necessary changes in the constituional framework of Serbia. Noting that a great deal of attention had been paid to these issues, Kucan stressed that a belief predominates whereby the resolving of the situation in Kosovo calls for an all-Yugoslav program, primarily for the sake of the Serbs and Montenegrins, but also for the Albanians and all of us. He said that the prime responsibility for its implementation lies with the competent organs of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo—the Communists of this province—with full cooperation from the organs and the Communists of the SR of Serbia—of which they are a part—in a way that would consolidate brotherhood and unity, that is, national equality, by constitutional means, by the setting up of a progressive front of all the nations and nationalities living in Kosovo and by consolidating political action and the state with the rule of law.

Milan Kucan also stressed that the Slovene LC has been resolute enough in opposing naive attitudes toward this issue and toward the tendency to underestimate the danger of intranational tensions in that part of the country of importance for the fate of all Yugoslavia. Support was given to those changes in the SFRY Constitution which will clearly establish the SR of Serbia and autonomous provinces as its integral parts, and not just as constitutive elements of the federation. We agreed to accept new solutions in the SFRY Constitution which were motivated by such changes, despite the fact, Kucan said, that at the same time they will serve at least partially to restrict the constitutional position and powers of the republics, including Slovenia. It is true, Kucan added, that we in the Slovene LC and in Slovenia as a whole cannot give support to those changes which will change the character of the provinces and reduce them to a position where they would be treated as Serbia's internal matter, or to political activities directed against giving the two provinces the degree of political and economic autonomy which would give the adjective "autonomous" only a formal meaning.

These standpoints and principles can serve as a basis for a successful program on the struggle for Yugoslavia—which can be won—and on their basis, a contribution

can be made to the country's reconstruction and development, and, by implication, to the reconstruction and development of each of its peoples with the awareness that a people are genuinely sovereign only if its members are free, Kucan said.

In reference to an initiative to convene an extraordinary LCY congress, Kucan said that the circumstances were such as to call for speedy preparations of the congress, which should be organized in line with the statute. This means that the congresses of the republican LC organizations should be held before the federal congress, and that the nature of the congress' political platform is of great importance. We propose, Kucan said in this connection, that the political platform of the 13th congress and of the first conference be continued. We also want this platform to be implemented and a concrete LCY political program to be formulated.

Speaking about the dismissal and no-confidence in the LCY Central Committee Presidium and its president, Kucan said that the procedure has to be in line with the statute, and that this should be insisted upon. We also need arguments which will be accepted by the LCY Central Committee.

Stanovnik on 'Old Socialism'

LD2401051889 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1329 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Ljubljana, 23 Jan (TANJUG)—The old model of socialism has been a failure, and in this context one must look at the very prominent democratic ferment in which both populism and pluralism are surfacing on the same basis, neither of which should be pitted against each other, said Janez Stanovnik at a session of the Slovenia LC Central Committee.

Stanovnik believes that populism and pluralism in themselves are not a problem; the danger lies in their distortion. This must be resisted and an attempt made to channel them into the construction of a new model of socialism whose foundations are developed self-management, an institutionalized democratic system, and the sacred AVNOJ principles as "the be all and end all."

Protesters in Struga Demand Resignations

LD2301204989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1205 GMT 23 Jan 89

[Text] Struga, 23 Jan (TANJUG)—This morning the villagers of Vevcani staged a prearranged protest meeting outside the building of the sociopolitical organizations in Struga. Approximately 2,000 inhabitants of this village, famous for their 1987 dispute over the water supply, called on the Struga leadership to tender their resignation, since they consider it guilty of instigating the "Vevcani affair."

The first to address the citizens gathered there was Ajredin Memedi, president of the SAWP municipal conference, who proposed that the organizing committee of the meeting enter the building for talks. The villagers of Vevcani refused, and Alimpije Angelski, member of the committee for the protection of human rights of the villagers of Vevcani, made known the villagers' demands. A public condemnation of the use of the militia and the setting up of a working group, which should finally reveal the truth about the "Vevcani Affair," were demanded.

Demonstration Continues

LD2401113389 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0846 GMT 24 Jan 89

[Text] Struga, 24 Jan (TANJUG)—Citizens of Vevcani, who since yesterday have been holding a protest meeting, are still in the open area in front of the building of sociopolitical organizations in Struga. They are still insisting on the demands they put forward yesterday, in particular for the resignations of three top officials in the municipality and for an answer to the question of who ordered the involvement of the police in the summer of 1987 during the well-known dispute over water in Vevcani.

Overnight the number of Vevcani citizens gathered fell to about 200, and since this morning the number has been increasing again.

Sessions of the presidia of the SAWP municipal conference and of the trade unions are in progress.

Associations for Halting Emigration Founded

Group Formed in Zubin Potok

AU1501184689 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Jan 89 p 4

[TANJUG report: "Association for Returning to Homeland"]

[Text] Zubin Potok, 4 Jan—A group of citizens from Zubin Potok has founded an association whose aim is to halt the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins and encourage the return of those who have emigrated from Ibarski Kolasin and the surrounding area. The objective of this association is to help Kosovo Serbs and Montenegrins to solve the problems which forced them to emigrate, and to encourage those who have emigrated to return to their homeland.

Because of emigration, many houses in Ibarski Kolasin are empty and many fields have not been cultivated for years. The poor commune of Zubin Potok, which was in fact founded with the aim of halting the emigration and encouraging people to return, is not able to solve numerous problems alone, above all material problems caused by the emigration or wishes to return. This is why the newly

founded association, which will work under the auspices of the SAWP, will itself undertake some obligations: to initiate a social action and help in its implementation.

Kosovo Polje Citizens Meet

LD1501210989 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1613 GMT 15 Jan 89

[Excerpts] Pristina, 14 Jan (TANJUG)—The association of Kosovo Citizens for the Return of Serbia and Montenegrin Emigres was formed in Kosovo Polje today. The founding meeting was attended by about 200 delegates from all over the province, representatives of solidarity associations in Novi Sad and Arandjelovac, as well as by Zika Radojlovic and Miroslav Markovic, members of the political aktiv of the Central Committee of the LC of Serbia. [passage omitted] It was stressed that this association will not be the partner of existing organizations; within the framework of the Socialist Alliance it will work for the implementation of the conclusions on Kosovo. The association will not be an association of Serbs and Monetengrins alone, but of all well-meaning people who want, it was said, to prevent a Kosovo drama.

The association is not directed against Albanians; it urges the restoration of normality to intranational relations and awareness about the need to live together in brotherhood and unity in the Kosovo area. The association will have sections all over the province, and its head office will be in Kosovo Polje.

Serbian Peasants Propose Own Union in SAWP

AU1501194089 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Jan 89 p 3

[B. Gulan report: "It Is Not a Political Party"]

[Excerpt] Bogosav Bozic, a farmer from the village of Poljuve, near Ub, and member of the Republican Conference of the Serbian SAWP, recently proposed that a peasants union be founded in Serbia. Peasants from the Socialist Autonomous Provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo would also be members of this union. Judging by everything, the proposal of this respectable farmer surprised everybody in the Serbian SAWP Section for Agriculture (at which he was the only farmer), and therefore a discussion on this topic did not take place. It was concluded that this proposal should be thoroughly substantiated.

We asked Bozic why he proposed the founding of a peasants union. Do peasants today really not have a chance to realize their interests in any other way?

Another Form of Organizing

"I have not proposed the founding of a special political party, but only another way for peasants to organize within the framework of the SAWP, something like a peasants trade union or association, the kind that today already exists in some independent professions, the kind that small businessmen, artists have...," Bozic said. "After all, such a union already exists in Slovenia and will soon exist in Croatia. Why should we not have one if it could be useful. Peasants from Vojvodina and Kosovo as integral parts of the SR Serbia would also be the members of this organization. We could even have this kind of organization at the federal level, because although the condition for and structure of production are different, the problems of all peasants are the same."

The proposal is supported by Marko Grlic, farmer from Titel and a member of the Presidium of the Yugoslav and Vojvodina Cooperatives. [passage omitted]

Social Democrats Address SAWP, LC Issues

AU1401201989 Ljubljana MLADINA in Slovene 30 Dec 88 p 2

[Statement by the Initiative Committee for the Founding of the Social Democratic Union of Slovenia: "Social Democratic Union and the SAWP"]

[Text] Questions have been appearing in the public about whether the Social Democratic Union will work within the SAWP or will be set up as an independent political organization. As we have often stressed, the Social Democratic Union of Slovenia [SDUS] is an autonomous political organization that claims for itself a place equal to that held by the LC in the political system. We do not recognize any a priori leading social role of any political subject, just as we reject the very concept of a vanguard, which we understand as a theoretical means for a coercive hegemony of a certain political group in society and as a way of self-identification, which has a very questionable social basis.

It is precisely the advance determination of a privileged place for the LC and the acceptance of the ideopolitical precepts and aims of its program as the SAWP basic program orientation that is one of the main principles of this "front" organization, which should be "a democratic form of links and associations of citizens and all working people... and the broadest political foundation of self-management...." (SAWP Statute, page 14) Let us look at some of the articles of the statute where the "width" and the "democratic spirit" of this front organization are particularly pronounced:

Article 1, paragraph 2:

"Working people and citizens with their activities in the SAWP strive in an organized way for the implementation of the socioeconomic and political aims and relations outlined in the LC program, for a consistent implementation of the SFRY Constitution and of the Constitution of the SR of Slovenia, and for the realization of the program and statute of the SAWP of Slovenia and the SAWPY."

This clearly shows that the LC program is of equal rank as the program of the SAWP, although according to the SAWP Statute, the LC is only one of the sociopolitical organizations included in the SAWP.

Paragraph 3:

"The working people and citizens in the SAWP critically assess, and on this basis with their organized actions, reject and prevent political concepts that are alien to socialism and self-management and unmask their protagonists. The SAWP has no place for any program or activity that would oppose the principles of socialist self-managing society."

This paragraph also has a very democratic and humane sound.

Article 3, paragraph 1:

"Sociopolitical organizations which ensure a self-managing development headed by the LC as the vanguard of the workers class, through the activities of their members..."

Paragraph 2:

"Sociopolitical organizations harmonize their activities in the SAWP on the basis of a jointly formed program which they adopt in the SAWP in conformity with their program starting points and the LC program starting points. Relations among them are based on their independence, equal cooperation, and mutual rights and duties."

It is probably unnecessary to point out that the last sentence applies only to the Socialist Youth Federation, the Trade Union Federation, and the Veterans Federation, while the LC is in a completely different position compared with other sociopolitical organizations, because these must accept its program as part of their own, as Article 3, Paragraph 4 puts it:

"The LC of Slovenia acts in the SAWP of Slovenia as the vanguard organization of the workers class. The Communists in the SAWP ensure (?!) that the broadest strata of the working people, linked in class and other sociopolitical and social organizations, accept the socialist self-managing direction and that the political direction of the LC grows within the SAWP into a mass initiative and action of the workers class and all working people..."

Equality, independence, and mutual rights and duties are also prominent in the Principles of SAWP Activities and Organization. Article 5, paragraph 2 says:

When a vote is taken on stances and conclusions, these are adopted if a majority of all the members of the SAWP conference and all the delegations of the sociopolitical organizations vote for them."

A conclusion or a stance must therefore be accepted by all the delegations of the sociopolitical organizations, regardless of their differences in principles. If the delegates or delegations of the sociopolitical organizations think that they cannot accept a resolution because of essential differences in views and opinions, they may request a postponement. What happens next?

Paragraph 4:

"In such a case, the conference or another body of the SAWP determines the deadline by which and the method with which the existing differences must be eliminated or the stances harmonized. The foundation for the harmonization of stances are the ideopolitical premises of the fundamental documents of the SAWP and the LC. If the stances are not harmonized, a decision on the disputed question is made by the conference or another body of the SAWP, a two-thirds majority being required."

The problematic unity is also referred to by Articles 28, 29, and 30 of the rules on the powers, the manner of operations, and the organization of the republican conference of the SAWP of Slovenia and its organs. The essential point of these articles is to deny the generally proclaimed equality and independence of the SAWP members, because they push them into a constant harmonization and unification of political distinctions which at least in principle should exist among them. The necessity of achieving unity and of common (compromise) positions is at the same time a filter that prevents the suggestions which are not in conformity with the LC program aims to reach the legal places of political decisionmaking. The SAWP not only functions as a transmission belt organization; the SAWP in fact is a transmission belt political organization because its statute and its rules of procedure determine this role for it. As such, it of course cannot be a place where various political groups appear equal, because the noncommunist groups are in advance condemned to a second-rate political status. The Social Democrats will not join this organization until all the rules giving the LC a privileged status in the SAWP are changed or dropped; this also applies to the rules that demand a unification of the stands and that prevent a minority opinion from being translated into political decisionmaking on an equal footing. In addition it is still not clear why we need the SAWP as a place where interests of the various social and political groups are articulated and integrated and a kind of consensus is reached, for the place where various political suggestions are expressed and harmonized is the parliament, and not some kind of a "front organization." It is true, however, that this front organization is increasingly becoming a kind of a substitute for democratic parliamentary life.

Initiative Committee for the Founding of a Social Democratic Union of Slovenia.

Plot of Sentenced Albanian Soldiers Described

AU1501135789 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 10 Jan 89 p 1

[R. Babic report: "Collecting Fellow-Thinkers"]

[Text] The recent conviction and sentencing of a group of soldiers from the Surdulica garrison is a typical example that shows that Albanian nationalists and separatists are not biding their time, but that, according to their prearranged counterrevolutionary plan, are organizing hostile groups and gatherings and spreading propaganda even within the Yugoslav People's Army.

The bench of the Nis military court, headed by Colonel Veljko Milic, recently convicted and sentenced Shefqet Qufiqaj, born in 1968 in the village of Gornji Brzan, Pec Commune, to 5 years' imprisonment; and Fatmir Hasani, first class private, born in Titova Mitrovica in 1968, to one year's imprisonment, on the basis of Article 136, paragraph 1 and Article 114 of the SFRY Penal Code, for the criminal act of association for the purposes of hostile activity. Both soldiers were serving their military service in the Surdulica garrison.

According to the charges, Shefqet Qufiqaj, during the journey of a group of soldiers being transferred from Nis garrison to Surdulica on 6 April 1988, declared in a railroad compartment in the presence of the privates Hamdi Milaku, Eshref Shala, Ismail Gjocaj, and Agim Gashi that the Albanians are in a difficult position in Kosovo, that they have no rights of any kind, that they do the heaviest work while the Serbs and Montenegrins take the best jobs, that the Albanians' situation can only improve if Kosovo becomes a republic, and that all the Albanians must commit themselves to and struggle for this. He also called on them to unite and stick together at Surdulica, and to accept into their company only good Albanians who would not spy on them and who were of similar opinions. He ended by shouting "Long live the Republic of Kosovo."

On arriving in Surdulica, Shefqet began his activity, and busied himself with gathering like-minded individuals and persuading the above-mentioned soldiers that they should unite into groups as many patriotic Albanians, after vetting them beforehand. It was up to Shefqet to decide who could be accepted into a group.

He became acquainted with the second defendant, Fatmir Hasani, first class private, and told him that the situation in Kosovo is serious and becoming more difficult for the Albanians every day, that it would be better for the Albanians if Kosovo became a republic, and that everybody must realize this. He introduced Fatmir to the privates Agim Gashi, Hamdi Millaku, Islam Gjocaj, and Eshref Shala, said that Fatmir was a patriot and a good friend, and then asked Fatmir to give his besa [traditional Albanian oath of honor] to promise that he would remain loyal and not betray them. This he did.

In search of further like-minded individuals, Shefqet alsobecame acquainted with Hetem Morina, and told him about his aim of collecting Albanian soldiers, saying that Hetem also could join their group, to which he agreed. He then said that it was necessary to be wary of the Serbs and other soldiers who spoke Albanian. He said that it was better for anyone who betrayed the group or Shefqet himself to kill himself, and that if he did not do so, he would be liquidated by the others. Hetem Morina accepted everything Shefqet said, and confirmed his agreement at the group's first meeting. The private Naser Zeneli also joined the group as a true patriotic Albanian, having been persuaded by Fatmir Hasani.

One day in the middle of August 1988, while this group was sitting outside the barracks, they were also joined by the private Xhafer Morina. Hetem Morina said of him that he was from Albania, that he was a good friend and patriot, and that he would join them. Xhafer said, among other things, that his parents were from Albania and that he had many relatives there. Shefqet Qufiqaj then went up to him and embraced him, saying that they needed people like Xhafer, and asking for his besa, which Xhafer gave. Pleased at having acquired another soldier for his group, Shefqet shouted "Long live the Republic of Kosovo."

Also in August 1988, the group met again and heard how the soldier Besim Mustafa had betrayed Gjocaj to the first class private Antonovic when Gjocaj had escaped from the Nis military hospital and gone home. Shefqet then said that he would kill anybody who committed treachery. He again spoke about the dangers posed to the Albanians and about the exploitation of the Trepca mines by Serbia, and said that Albanian demonstrations and war in Kosovo would ensue.

At a meeting in September 1988, at which Fatmir Hasani, Ismail Gjocaj, and Eshref Shala were present, the first defendant Shefqet Qufiqaj said that the Albanians in Kosovo must revolt at once and fight for a Kosovo republic. He then advised that when the rebellion broke out, those members of the group who were on guard or were present in the barracks should seize as many weapons and as much ammunition as possible from the military stores, and escape to Kosovo. He himself, he said, would increase the pressure and cause an explosion in the garrison's gasoline tanks, thus causing panic. He said that they needed a motor vehicle in which they could escape from their unit and join the rebels in Kosovo, after first damaging or destroying all the motor vehicles, gasoline tanks, stores, and everything else at the garrison. He especially emphasized that the most important thing was to obtain as many weapons and as much ammunition as possible, and that the rest was unimportant, because Albania would help the people of Kosovo when the revolt broke out. He also told them that it would be necessary to call on all the other Albanian soldiers in the barracks to escape from their unit, taking their weapons with them at all costs.

Fatmir Hasani, who was sentenced to one year's imprisonment, was accused of being a member of a hostile group and recruiting like-minded members. At the end of June 1988, at a meeting of the group, he said that he

had talked to Naser Zeneli and found that he was a sound person, a patriot, and a true Albanian, that he was on their side and could become a member of the group, and would not betray anybody. After Fatmir vouched for him, he also joined the group. Fatmir Hasani often told the Albanian soldiers that they would not have long to wait and that the Albanians would soon rise in revolt and fight for a republic in Kosovo in which all the Albanians would live well.

Shefqet Qufiqaj's father attended the trial, and said at its conclusion that he was surprised at what he had heard about his son, that he had not raised him to think in such a way, but to love this country, and that the sentence was a mild one for what he had done.

What remains to be said? This group of soldiers has been sentenced. However, it remains everybody's duty to take measures to tighten security, self-defense, and vigilance, because the enemy never rests.

New Combat-Armored Vehicles Detailed

BOV-3 Described

AU1501184389 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Jan 89 p 11

[Reprint from the December issue of FRONT: "Combat-Armored Vehicle BOV-3"]

[Text] The combat-armored vehicle BOV-3 has a motorized anti-aircraft three barrel 20 millimeter cannon for shooting targets in the air at the height of 2,500 meters. It is also successful in hitting targets on the land and sea. The theoretical speed of the weapon's firing is 2,250 grenades [granata] per minute. The total weight of the vehicle is 8,960 kilograms. It has a four-member crew. Its speed on good quality roads is 100 km per hour. It successfully copes with slopes of up to 55 degrees.

M-80 Described

AU1501193289 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 6 Jan 89 p 10

[Reprint from the December issue of FRONT magazine: "Infantry Combat Vehicle M-80"]

[Text] The infantry combat vehicle M-80 (BVP M-80) is effective against men, armored and other vehicles, and targets in the air. It is armed with an automatic 20 millimeter gun, an anti-armored vehicles launcher with two guidance mechanisms, and one manual "wasp" ["zolja"] projector. Thanks to its superb construction, the shield protects the crew from armor-piercing ammunition of 200 and 7.9 millimeters from front and rear respectively. The vehicle's speed is 60 kilometers per hour and it has an action radius of 500 kilometers. It can stay afloat for 21 hours. Its speed in water is 7.5 kilometers per hour. The vehicle has a crew of four and can carry seven more soldiers.